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DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 279 162 FL 016 464

AUTHOR Bastardas, Albert
TITLE The Relation between Linguistic Context, Behaviour and Competence: The Second Generation of Castilian-Speaking Immigrants in Non-Metropolitan Catalonia.
INSTITUTION Laval Univ., Quebec (Quebec). International Center for Research on Bilingualism.
PUB DATE 86
NOTE 144p.
PUB TYPE Reports - Research/Technical (143)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC06 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Acculturation; Adolescents; *Bilingualism; Community Size; Correlation; Educational Background; Foreign Countries; *Immigrants; Interference (Language); *Language Fluency; Language Patterns; Language Research; Language Usage; Population Distribution; Regional Dialects; Sociocultural Patterns; *Spanish Speaking
IDENTIFIERS Catalan; *Spain (Catalonia); *Spanish (Castilian)

ABSTRACT

A study of the process of bilingualization of second-generation immigrants to Catalonia, a region of Spain, is described and summarized. The study looks at the interrelationships between (1) linguistic context, all sources of messages in natural speech; (2) linguistic behavior, the real communicative use the individual makes of his expressive faculties in the language; and (3) linguistic competence, the combination of knowledge and capacity allowing the individual to understand and utter messages in the language. These variables are examined as they relate to the acquisition of Catalan by Castilian-speaking immigrants' children. The report begins with a general geographic and demographic background and a description of the study's design. The second chapter presents information on the demography and the three linguistic variables examined in the town under study. The third and fourth chapters present analyses of the relationships between the three variables. The fifth chapter outlines the study's conclusions and observations. A bibliography, the data-collection instruments, notes on oral and written responses to the tests used, and extensive statistical tables are appended. (MSE)

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Albert Bastardas

The Relation Between Linguistic Context, Behaviour and Competence: The Second Generation of Castilian-Speaking Immigrants in Non-metropolitan Catalonia

Publication H-8

1986
Centre international de recherche sur le bilinguisme
International Center for Research on Bilingualism
Québec

Le Centre international de recherche sur le bilinguisme est un organisme de recherche universitaire qui reçoit une subvention de soutien du Ministère de l'Éducation du Québec et une contribution du Secrétariat d'État du Canada pour son programme de publication.

The International Center for Research on Bilingualism is a university research institution which receives a supporting grant from the Department of Education of Quebec and a contribution from the Secretary of State of Canada for its publication programme.

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Dépôt légal (Québec) 4e trimestre 1986
ISBN 2-89219-169-6

Translation by Michael Strubell Sr.

To Magda

A C K N O W L E D G M E N T S

I should like to express my gratitude to all those who at one stage or another made it possible for this study to come into existence. My special thanks are due to Professor William Francis Mackey who from the very first moment honoured me with his wise guidance and friendly support; to Mr. Jean-Denis Gendron and my other friends at the *Centre international de recherche sur le bilinguisme* of the *Université Laval*, who followed the progress of the work with enthusiasm and fellow-feeling and helped me continually with all aspects of my stay in Quebec; to Mr. Lorne Laforge, who gave me important indications as a *pre-lecteur* of my work; to Mr. François Dupuis, who oriented me on the statistical aspect in so lucid and efficacious a manner; to Candido Pomar, without whose disinterested help the informatic processing of data would not have been possible,* to the principals, teachers and pupils of the educational centres of Vilafranca Penedès, who so kindly cooperated in the production and compiling of basic information; to the Town Council of Vilafranca del Penedès, which also never ceased to proffer collaboration and encouragement; and finally, to the *Fundación Juan March*, without whose financial aid my stay in Quebec would have been impossible, and to the CIRIT of the *Generalitat* of Catalonia, the official body which subsidized the field-work.

*To the *Département de langues et linguistique* of the *Université Laval* which also contributed to the processing of data.

PREFACE

The phenomenal acceleration in the mobility of population during the past half century has engendered new and different situations of language contact throughout the world. These have often created social problems for the states whose social structure is based on the assumption that all citizens understand the national language.

In Europe the immigrant population has been counted in the millions, and the number increased with the birth rate of each immigrant group. According to the usual scenario for immigrant assimilation the omnipresence and prestige of the national language guarantees the integration of succeeding generations into the mainstream resulting in the eventual disappearance of the minority languages.

In contemporary Europe, the scenario has not been that simple. The gradual regionalization of Europe upon economic and linguistic lines counterweighted by its progressive unification is initiating new centres of attraction independently of those which the political nationalism of the nineteenth century had developed in the process of creating the nation-state.

One of the regions the most ready and at the same time the best prepared for this evolution is Catalonia - with its rich cultural and linguistic heritage, and its solid economic base attracting to it large numbers of workers who enter the area speaking no other language than a variety of Castilian and having to work for or with Catalan bilinguals. It is the linguistic component of this situation which is here described and analysed.

What is therefore unique about the situation which this book depicts is the assimilation into a regional language of a displaced population speaking a variety of a national - indeed of an international language. An understanding of this interesting process should help us weigh the relative importance of factors involved in language shift and the language assimilation of immigrant peoples.

Most of the literature to date on the assimilation of immigrants has been purely descriptive. What is unique about the present study is that it is also explicative. By means of a well designed experiment coupled with a rigorous quantification of data, Albert Bastardas has tried to provide some answers to the basic questions of how, why, to what extent and under what conditions a second generation of immigrants adopts the language of its environment. In the process he has devised an important

theoretical model of considerable predicting power. On the basis of this model he has demonstrated how the modification of language behavior depends equally on the context in which the language is used and the competence of the speakers using it. His conclusions are particularly important in the area of policy development for language survival and revival.

It is now evident that if a language cannot expand through the superior birth rate of its speakers, it must depend for its renewal on the assimilation of immigrants. The ability of the Catalan language and culture to attract new speakers seems crucial to the expansion of the language.

This study by Albert Bastardas is one of the few to address the problems involved in the process of assimilation. For all these reasons the readers of the following pages, whether they be interested in the process, the techniques or in the situation itself will find this clear and well-structured account to be useful, informative and indeed, rewarding.

William F. Mackey
International Centre for Research on Bilingualism

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ABBREVIATIONS

ASCT = Ability to Speak Catalan (level of expression).

BUP = *Batxillerat Unificat i Polivalent* (educational course which generally comprises individuals between 14 and 17 years of age).

CB = Coefficient of Bilinguality (predominance of the knowledge of one language in relation to that of the other).

COL = Coloquial fluency of Catalan in respect to Castilian.

DICS = Degree of interference in Castilian.

DICT = Degree of interference in Catalan.

EGB = *Educació General Bàsica* (educational course which generally comprises individuals between 5 and 14 years of age).

FP = *Formació Professional* (educational course the first grade of which generally comprises individuals between 14 any 16 years of age).

N.S. = Statistically not significative.

C H A P T E R I

INTRODUCTION

1. Spain: the Geographical, Political and Linguistic Contexts*

Spain occupies the greater part of the Iberian Peninsula, situated in the extreme south-west of the continent of Europe. It extends over 504,781 sq.kms. and its population in 1981 amounted to 37,746,260. Distributed irregularly over the area of the State, its inhabitants have tended to concentrate in the coastal zones, with some isolated nuclei, such as Madrid and Zaragoza, in the interior. Thus, the average density of population on the periphery exceeds, in general, 100 per sq.km. while in inland zones it drops to around 25 per sq. km.. In 1981 the active working population totalled 12,886,800 (34.2% of the whole) made up as follows: primary, 18.6%; secondary, 36.4% and services 45%. Because of the current economic crisis however, there is a very considerable volume of unemployed (15.8% of the active population as of the second quarter 1982), with a particularly high incidence in Andalusia, Catalonia, the Basque country and Madrid.

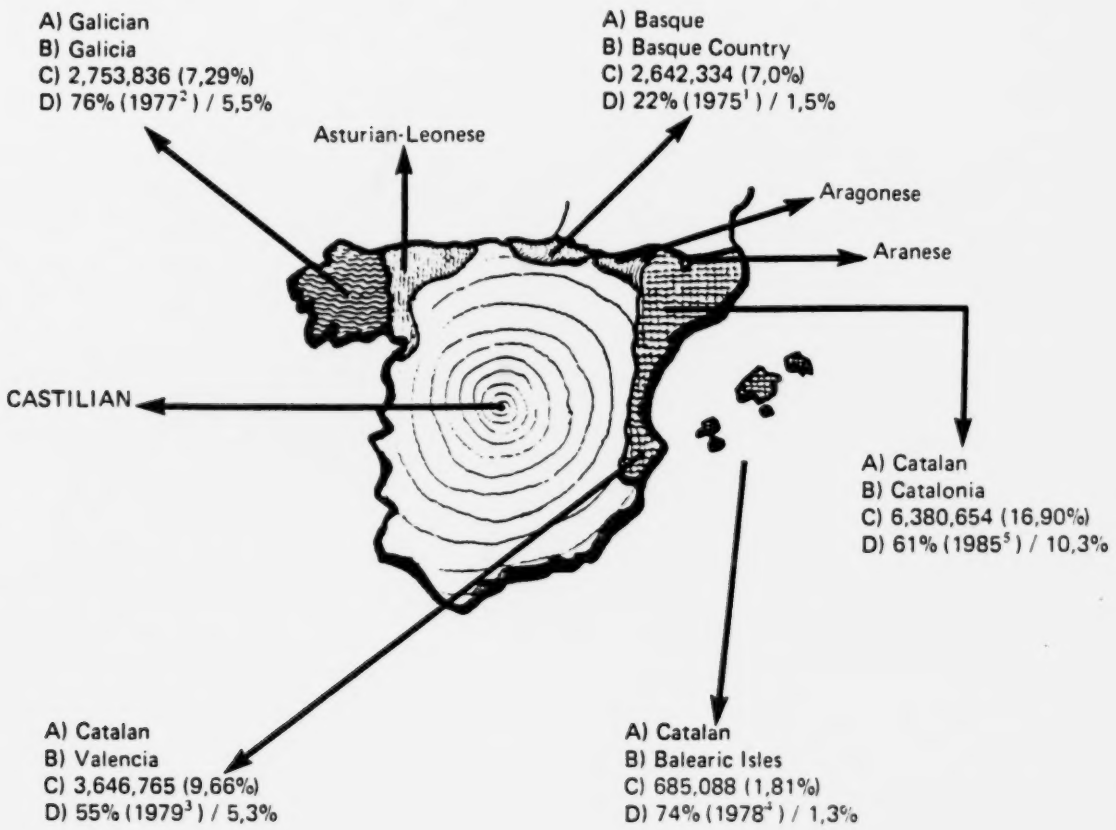
Politically, a new Constitution has been in force since 1978 which, radically modifying the authoritarian system imposed in 1939, instituted a bicameral parliamentary monarchy, confirmed all the customary rights and liberties of the Western democracies and permitted the formation of autonomous communities. However, in spite of the fact that it acknowledges the existence in Spain of different nationalities, having their own legislative and executive powers in several important sectors, the new Constitution does not recognize their right of self-determination and established, in contrast, a single sovereign authority for the whole State. In the linguistic domain, Castilian - also known as Spanish - is maintained as the official language throughout the State, although the new constitutional principles, breaking away from the previous four decades, authorize the co-official status of other languages in their respective autonomous communities.

The language predominantly used by the majority of Spaniards is Castilian, although some 24% of the population speak one of the other languages which, according to zone, are used in Spain. viz. Catalan,Galician and Basque. Asturian-

*This study was made possible thanks to a scholarship from the *Fundación Juan March*, within the framework of its Program of Studies on Autonomous Territories. The field work in Catalonia relied on a research grant from the CIRIT of the *Generalitat* of Catalonia (AR83-16).

FIGURE 1

Spain: Minority Language Areas and Population



A) = Native and co-official language
B) = Autonomous Community
C) = Total No. of inhabitants in 1981 and % in respect of total population of Spain[6]
D) = Approximate % of persons speaking the native and co-official language in the Autonomous Community and % in respect of total population of Spain

---

[1] AIERBE, Pello. "Situación general y escolar del bilingüismo en Euskadi", en: Siguan, Miguel (coord). *Lenguas y Educación en el ámbito del Estado Español.* Barcelona: Ediciones de la Univ. de Barcelona, 1983.

[2] FERNANDEZ, Mauro. "La situación de la lengua en Galicia: la lengua de los escolares" en Siguan Miguel (coord). *Lenguas y Educación en el ámbito del Estado Español.* Barcelona: Ediciones de la Univ. de Barcelona, 1983.

[3] MIRA, J.F. *Població i llengua al País Valencià.* València: Institució Alfons el Magnànim, 1981.

[4] BIBLIONI i Sancho, Jaume, i R. Junyent. "Informe sobre l'ús del català a Catalunya, País Valencià i Illes Balears". *Perspectiva Social* 14 (July-December 1979), p. 161-171.

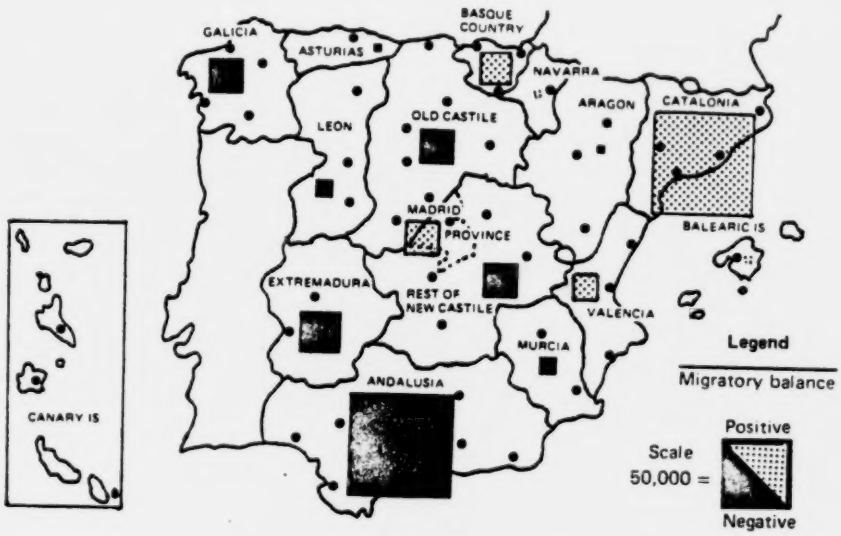
[5] D Y M (commissioned by the Direcció General de Política Lingüística Generalitat de Catalunya). *Enquesta de seguiment del Ier. curs "Digui, digui".* (Unpublished data).

[6] *Gran Enciclopèdia Catalana.* Vol. 16 (Suplement). Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1983.

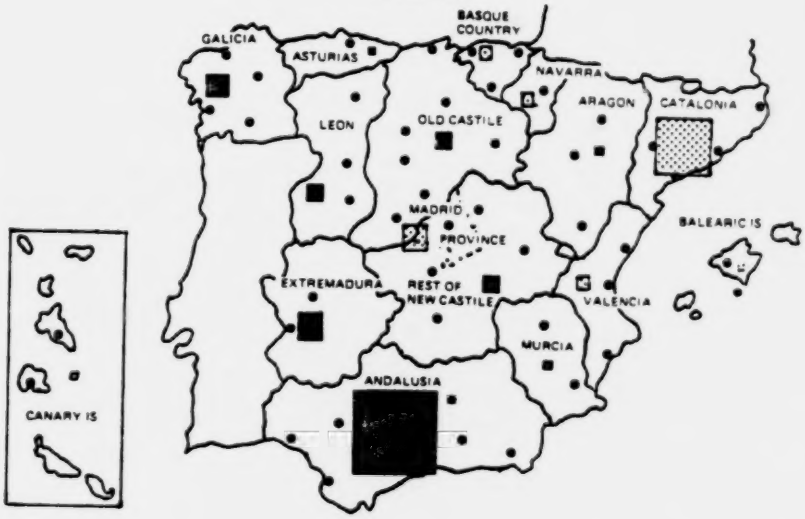
FIGURE 2

Maps of Spain showing net migration, partial, per region Annual average 1962-1965 and the year 1970*

Years 1962-1965



Year 1970



Source: *Recolons, 1976.*

*Old administrative regions, before 1978.

Leonese (or "bable"), Aragonese (or "fabla") and Aranese also exist, but demographically to a much lesser extent. The great majority of those speaking languages other than Castilian are bilingual, firstly, because their schooling has been in Castilian only, and secondly, because Castilian is exclusively used in the immense majority of, if not all, public and official business, in observance of the norms ruling in Spain up to the death of the former head of state, General Franco. As stated above, under the new constitutional order the other three languages, Catalan, Galician and Basque, have been declared co-official with Castilian in their respective autonomous communities: Catalonia/Valencia/Balearic Isles in the case of Catalan; Galicia in that of Galician; and the Basque country in that of Basque. Additionally, seeing that linguistic regions do not always coincide with historical administrative frontiers, Catalan also enjoys "respect and protection" in that strip of the autonomous community of Aragon which borders on Catalonia, as does also Basque in Navarra. The opportunity for them to become incorporated in functions of public use has greatly speeded up the processes of codifying and extending the knowledge and practice of these other, non-Castilian, languages, with the result that at the present time at least three major language-planning operations, of enormous interest in the formulation of theories in this field, are under way in Spain.

With the new "status" acquired in the current political situation, these recuperative processes in respect of the Catalan, Galician and Basque languages, find themselves up against - among other objective difficulties - the factor of the lack of linguistic homogeneity of the population presently living in their traditional domain or in their autonomous community. With notable differences, depending on language and zone, the three major processes of linguistic planification have in common the presence in their territory of large contingents of persons who, mainly either because of inter-generational language shifts in favour of Castilian in the context of the previous situation, or because of immigration from other Castilian-speaking zones of Spain, only speak Castilian and not the native language of the area. The first of these causes, inter-generational language shifts (the abandonment of the native language of the community in favour of Castilian), has historically occurred with great intensity in the Basque country and also, although to a lesser degree since it is more recent, in the upper social levels of Galicia. In the Catalan-speaking domain, the phenomenon fluctuates from region to region. It is more pronounced in Valencia and less so in Catalonia and the Balearics. The second major factor - linguistic migrations within the Spanish state -, while it has been of lesser influence in Galicia and the Balearics, has certainly been intensely so at different stages during the 20th century, and especially in the period 1960-75, in Catalonia, Valencia and the Basque country, all of which are zones of high-rate industrial expansion.

The presence of these considerable contingents of speech-area immigrants (Kloss, 1971), coming from traditionally Castilian-speaking zones of Spain, in areas where the mother tongue is a language other than Castilian, apart from representing a serious obstacle for the linguistic organisation of the affected zones - by recuperative measures in defence of the native tongue - gives rise to a complexity of situations highly interesting to sociolinguistic research. In this respect, the present study centres specifically on the Autonomous Community of Catalonia, which is the community which has advanced furthest in the normalization of the use of its own language and the zone which has had to admit most Castilian-speaking immigrants from the interior in the last few decades.

2. Catalonia: Its History, Language and People

Catalonia lies in the extreme north-east of the Iberian Peninsula between the Mediterranean Sea and the autonomous community of Aragon. It occupies an area of 35,875 sq.kms. and its population in 1981 was 6,380,654 (comprising 16.9% of the total population of the Spanish state and 59.6% of that of the Catalan-speaking territories). 6.7% of the working population are in the primary sector, 47.6% in the secondary and 45.7% in the tertiary sector.

A de facto independent country from the Xth century, Catalonia lived through an epoch of splendour in the XIIIth and XIVth centuries during which it expanded its political and, generally speaking, its linguistic domain towards the south of the peninsula (Valencia) and in the Mediterranean (the Balearic Islands and other less lasting possessions). In the XVIth century, for dynastic reasons Catalonia came under the same sovereignty as the kingdom of Castile and Leon, although it continued to enjoy an extensive political autonomy in what might be termed the "confederal" context. However, from the XVIIIth century onwards and because of its defeat in the War of Succession contested by the Archduke Charles of Austria and Philip of Anjou, Catalonia came to be ruled within the framework of a strongly centralist and unitarian state governed directly by the Council of Castile, thus resulting in the disappearance of its autonomous institutions and laws. Once integrated in the new Spanish state, Catalonia was to be subjected to the historical vicissitudes of Spain with the conflicts between absolutism and liberalism, the two brief republican spells (1873-74 and 1931-39) and the long dictatorship from 1939 to 1975. Today, having had no self-governing institutions of its own since 1714 (apart from the short republican period 1931-39), Catalonia has the *Generalitat* - consisting of the autonomous Government and Parliament - which since 1979 has had considerable legislative and executive powers in such fields as, for instance, civil law, cultural affairs, public works, education, social services,

etc., although in some aspects these are still subject to basic norms dictated by the legislative bodies of the central Spanish state.

The native language of Catalonia - and the rest of the territories conquered by her in the Middle Ages and now integrated in the state of Spain - is Catalan. Basically derived from Vulgar Latin like the rest of the Romance languages, Catalan, together with Latin and Aragonese, was the language generally used by political and official bodies during the period of Catalan independence. With the disappearance of the royal court in the XVIth century on the accession to the Catalan-Aragonese throne of the same king who was ruler of the kingdom of Castile-Leon, the introduction of Castilian at cultured levels gathered pace, having already begun in the previous century when used for certain literary and court purposes following the enthronement in Catalonia of the alien Trastámara dynasty after the Catalan-Aragonese royal house was left with no direct descendant. Nevertheless, Catalan continued to be in normal use in official and public functions up to the XVIIIth century, when a deliberate policy aimed at substituting Castilian for Catalan was instituted by the new Bourbon régime set up by Philip of Anjou. Pari passu with the modernization and aggrandisement of the State organization, the Castilian tongue continued to make inroads in Catalonia. The generalized expansion of teaching was to bring with it a greater correlative exposure to the new language in social strata, thitherto remote from it, which would progressively become bilingualized, albeit irregularly in the XIXth century but more amply and in the majority sense in the XXth century. The appearance of new mass media was also to contribute decisively to consolidating the spread of Castilian in Catalonia in the present century, since, in general, radio as well as television and the cinema were to use Castilian systematically and exclusively right up to end of the 70's.

Catalan having been progressively relegated to use in private spheres, the dawning of the Romantic movement in XIXth century Europe was reflected in Catalonia by the eruption of a social driving force which was to encourage the use - in poetry and folklore - of Catalan and was then to develop into a coherent pattern embodying nationalistic reassertion and full linguistic normality for the language, at the end of the century. At the beginning of the XXth century this movement was to translate itself into political triumphs with its arrival to power in local government bodies and with the institutionalization of the *Mancomunitat de Catalunya*, the uniting of the four provincial local administration bodies (Barcelona. Girona, Lleida and Tarragona). This new institution, with the tolerance of the Madrid government, was to adopt Catalan as the official common language and, as a result, to press for its codification, its formal and written knowledge and its use as public functions. This process was interrupted in 1923 with the onset of a new authoritarian phase, but was to be recommenced in 1931 after

the proclamation of the II Spanish Republic, which permitted the reinstitution in Catalonia of the *Generalitat* and the formal declaration of Catalan as the co-official language in Catalonia. Until 1939, this new situation permitted further progress to be made in extending the public and official use of Catalan by autonomous Catalan government bodies. The process of codifying was also to be advanced by the appearance of the normative Dictionary, and Catalan would thenceforth be used by the Press and in broadcasting as well as being taught obligatorily throughout the educational system. Once again the process was brought to a halt, this time by the Spanish civil war and the accession to power of General Franco, who was to instal a régime totally inimical to any manifestation whatsoever of Catalan identity. The use of Catalan officially and in public was prohibited and once again a phase occurred in which its use was restricted to private circles.

The new Constitutions of 1978, proclaiming a democratic governmental system and the right to autonomy of the nationalities existing in Spain, meant that Catalan again became a co-official language in Catalonia and in the other territories in its traditional linguistic domain. The reestablished autonomous institutions constituting the *Generalitat de Catalunya* adopted as official policy the normalization of the use of Catalan in all official and public activities. This involved the introduction of Catalan in schools' curricula and its progressive adoption - although still in a minority capacity - as a vehicular language in the educational system. Today, not only is Catalan an obligatory subject in Catalan schools but its use as the language of instruction is also scheduled in certain subjects, together with Castilian in the case of others, with the aim of achieving a fully bilingual population. Likewise, in parallel with the two State channels transmitting predominantly in Castilian, Catalan now has its own television channel, operating under the jurisdiction of the autonomous Parliament. Similarly, Catalan institutions are trying to promote the use of Catalan in the public sphere, viz. in cultural, commercial, advertising and spare time activities, etc..

Nevertheless, the present linguistic policy of the Catalan government is conditioned by the presence in Catalonia of a great mass of persons of Castilian-speaking origin - fruit of the internal migrations in Spain in the present century, and principally those in the period 1960-75 - which today constitutes around half of the total population of Catalonia. The existence of this multitude of persons of non-Catalan linguistic origin represents then a transcendental modification of the Catalan reality and a factor of enormous importance in the present process of re-Catalanization of public life.

The majority of this displaced population decided upon its place of residence by concentrating in the more industrialized towns, especially in the province of Barcelona, which has contributed to the formation of entire neighbourhoods numerical-

ly of immigrant predominance and having scant contact with the autochthonous community. Overall, it would seem that in the whole of Catalonia the proportion of inhabitants in this category who use Catalan regularly does not exceed 25% (Bibiloni, 1979), although the majority own to understanding Catalan.

The autonomous Government is consequently striving for full bilingualization in Catalan of the whole of this immigrant-origin mass, with the aim of achieving a linguistic balance between all its citizens (since Catalans are also required by the constitution to know Castilian), in order to ensure that in the future Catalan shall once again be the common language of the inhabitants of Catalonia.

3. Definition of the Problem and Aims of the Research Project

Because of their future presence, the policy is principally aimed at persons in the second generation of the immigrants who arrived in such vast numbers from 1960 onwards. The full integration of children of immigrants into a Catalan society displaying a bilingualization on a practically native level is a phenomenon already known in Catalonia as a result of past migrations which, although not so multitudinous, had already occurred in this century (1910-1930). Even without it being used and taught in schools, except for the brief period of the Second Republic (1931-39), the first descendants of immigrant parents, as well as the first generation provided they arrived at an early enough age, generally acquired Catalan by social osmosis with the host population.

However, recently in Catalonia some voices have been heard affirming that, contrary to what happened in the case of earlier migrations, the majority of second generation immigrants in the last period referred to do not behave linguistically as their predecessors did in the past. Vallverdú (1980a) spots the problem and, on 1975 data, asserts that for the most part the present first descendants of the last immigrant waves did not know Catalan. Similarly, Strubell (1981) qualifies as a "myth" the belief current in Catalonia that because that nation had always absorbed earlier migrations the automatic integration and assimilation of the more recent massive displacements could also be anticipated now.

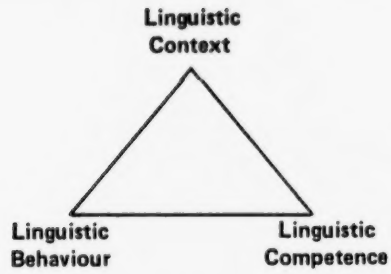
From the still not very abundant empirical information currently available on the linguistic state of second generation immigrants, in Barcelona province (Arnau & Boada, 1975; Calsamiglia & Tusón, 1980) and throughout Catalonia as a whole (Generalitat, 1983 and 1984; SEDEC, 1983), it would seem that the conclusion can be drawn that, except in areas of profound immigrant density, where greater difficulty in acquiring an understanding of the language already exists, there is taking effect a generalized process of receptive bilingualization, but,

on the other hand, the process of expressive bilingualization is far less advanced. In the whole of Catalonia, the proportion of Castilian-speaking pupils in the 4th Grade of *EGB* (9-10 years olds) in 1981-82 who had a sound capacity for communicating in Catalan did not amount to more than 30% (Generalitat, 1983). In the same way, the majority of these pupils in the 1st Course of *BUP* or *FP* (14-15 years olds) in 1982-83 displayed a marked insufficiency in their ability to express themselves orally in this second language (SEDEC, 1983). The phenomenon of a lower acquisition of expressive competence in Catalan is also to be found in nuclei, other than those situated in metropolitan areas of high immigrant density, where the assimilation of earlier migrant groups had been commonplace.

It is the intention therefore of this study to make for a better understanding of the present process of bilingualization of second generation immigrants. In particular, we shall aim to clarify the interrelations which arise in this process between linguistic context, behaviour and competence, all of which dimensions we consider to be extremely important in the grasping of any extra-family social bilingualization phenomenon.

Research into the mastery of Catalan by second generation immigrants is doubly interesting for its potential contribution towards improving their prospects in the process of their bilingualization and for its possible empirical contribution to the sociolinguistic theory of the acquisition of second languages to be found in the individual's environment. As regards the first aspect, our study sets out to cooperate in filling the vacuum in empirical information about bilingualization of the second generation immigrant in Catalonia, principally in non-metropolitan zones, that is, in areas in which the non-Catalan population constitutes an entity equilibrated with the autochthones, in a world of controlled mobility, generally within the confines of an urban or municipal nucleus, where interaction between groups is potentially still possible. This knowledge of Catalan sociolinguistic experience is equally interesting from the international point of view, since it deals with a not very common case of linguistic immigration within the State itself, in which members of the group speaking the predominant language move in large numbers to a zone traditionally speaking a minority language, which still lacks adequate resources for governmental control on the part of the host area on intervention in the bilingualization process of individual immigrants. A new situation is involved therefore, which potentially can bring to light elements that may have remained hidden in other processes in which different factors are involved.

The form of this research is based on the triangle comprising the three dimensions mentioned earlier herein - context, behaviour and competence - and the links and common influences between its three vertices.



Consequently, our hypotheses from the outset are:

1. There exists a significant correlation between context and behaviour.
2. There exists a significant correlation between context and competence.
3. There exists a significant correlation between behaviour and competence.

The linguistic context comprises all instruments surrounding the individual which emit messages in natural speech, whether they come from other persons and are addressed to him, or not (as in the case of mechanical communication media) (Mackey, 1976; Elliot, 1981). Linguistic behaviour refers to the real communicative use that the individual makes of his or her expressive faculties in any given language. Competence, on the other hand, can be defined as the combination of knowledge and capacity allowing the individual to understand and utter messages in any natural language.

The whole process of linguistic acquisition is seen in our research as an interaction between the innate mental structure of the individual and his or her linguistic environment (Dulay, 1982). Context, then, will play a crucial role in determining the linguistic activity of the individual, since it will provide the opportunity for learning languages and will govern their use. The distinction between behaviour and competence is also important in view of their probably close relationship but also their very important difference between possession of knowledge and the use to which it is put.

4. Methodology

4.1 The construction of concepts

With the aim of giving operative content to the dimensions whose relationships we set out to study, a process of dividing these concepts internally was carried out. The general linguistic context, which takes into consideration all the exposures of the individual to the language encountered in his or her environment, was divided into social context and the communication media. Social context consists of the linguistic input

which reaches the individual by means of the other social beings present in his or her surroundings. These surroundings were divided into domains of social activity, with particular reference to those of more importance for the age of the person investigated: the family, the neighbourhood, the school, organized recreational activities and the group of friends. It also includes the skills imparted by teachers - in a hierarchical social relationship - as a result of obligatory schooling. Communication media comprise television, radio, cinema/theatre and those involving written matter.

The dimensions of context are basically two: spectator linguistic exposure and interlocutory linguistic exposure. The former, spectator exposure, refers to the input which the subject absorbs as a result of participating in interactions which arise in social circles, even though these may not involve the individual directly. In contrast, interlocutory linguistic exposure comprises the messages which are addressed directly to the individual receiving them.

Quantification of these dimensions is, in general, on a scale of three positions ("always or nearly always in Catalan", "approximately equally in Catalan and Castilian", "always or nearly always in Castilian").

Context also includes the assessment of the social make-up of specific ambits according to the origins of the persons present therein. This is indicated on scales from 0 to 100, 0 representing the total absence of Catalan-origin population and 100 the contrary.

Audiovisual communication media are measured on a scale of five positions running from lesser to greater frequency and intensity.

Exposures by means of media involving written matter are measured, according to their oscillation, over three positions, ranging from greater to lesser incidence of Catalan which, as in the majority of other cases, is always the inverse situation with regard to Castilian.

Linguistic behaviour follows the same pattern of operationalization in ambits of social activity as that already mentioned, and is also measured on a scale of three positions.

Linguistic competence was categorized in terms of understanding, expression and colloquial fluency of Catalan. The first of these dimensions refers to the capacity to understand messages transmitted in Catalan, the second the ability to utter them and the third dimension indicates the degree to which this second facility has been developed. The three variables consist of three positions in ascending order of degree of mastery or development of the immigrant group's second language.

Competence, additionally includes two other dimensions, bilinguality and interference. The former refers to the overall or global linguistic knowledge of the individual expressed in terms of assessment of the balance between his or her two languages or the dominance of one over the other. The latter, on the other hand, represents the degree to which one language has an influence on the vocabulary of the other in a person's utterances. Bilinguality is measured on a scale oscillating between -1 (dominance of Castilian) and +1 (dominance of Catalan) in which the point 0 denotes a balance between the two languages. Interference can vary between 0 and 100. 0 represents the total absence of one language exerting any influence on the end-product expressed in the other and 100 indicates the other extreme.

4.2 Selection of the locality and group

The locality chosen for the carrying out of our research was Vilafranca del Penedès, situated in the Alt Penedès region of Barcelona province some 50 kms from the city of Barcelona itself. This town had the following features for the purposes of our study: a) The ratio between indigenous population and immigrants (approximately 60:40) favoured a potentially frequent interaction between one and the other - a necessary framework in non-family social bilingualization processes -, a situation which could not be found in other localities with a denser immigrant population; b) It constituted a universe of controlled mobility, that is to say, its inhabitants generally live and work in the same municipality, which facilitates control of the variables; and c) The locality had already been the object of earlier studies by the present author (vide Bastardas, 1985), a fact which meant that there existed a more comprehensive knowledge of the milieu and greater scope for ensuring collaboration during the process of compiling data.

The persons chosen for the study were between 9 and 16 years old. We divided them into three sub-groups, two extremes and one in the middle: 9-10 years, 12-13 years and 15-16 years, corresponding to the 4th and 7th Grades of EGB (*Educació General Bàsica* -primary education) and to the 2nd Grade of BUP (*Batxillerat Unificat i Polivalent* -secondary education) and FP (*Formació Professional*) - 1st Grade (secondary education), respectively. Thus we picked individuals who, for a reasonable period of time, had already experienced exposure to bilingualization mechanisms - both in the natural or informal context as well as at school - but who had not yet reached the age at which they would become incorporated in the working world, a circumstance which exposes everyone to countless new and very important factors. At the lower end, the subjects had already learnt to write and were therefore capable of using this mechanism for uttering their *items* in the written form of expression. At the top end, the age of 15-16 years was the oldest at which we could get to a large number of adolescents

still at school, thus enabling us to include those who still were in the BUP course and those taking the first grade of FP (Professional Training) - the stage at which many adolescents about to start work end their school life.

4.3 Measuring instruments

The main measuring instruments of the operationalized entities were the subjective sociolinguistic questionnaire and contextualized vocabulary-count tests (see Appendix A), which are already traditional methods in sociolinguistic bibliography (Fishman, 1971a), although they had to be adapted to our particular circumstances.

Contextualized vocabulary-count (*word-naming*) exercises were used with the aim in mind of being able to obtain from the individuals questioned objective ratings of their linguistic proficiency by ascertaining the extent of their vocabulary. The exercises consisted of short-duration tests in which the subject was required to express as many words as he or she knew on a series of specific subjects generally related to some areas of social activity. The exercises are carried out separately on the same topics in each of the languages of the individual questioned, thus enabling a comparison to be made of his or her output in each language and a coefficient to be calculated on the person's proficiency in one language with respect to the other.

The choice of topics presented to our subjects was the result of combining the criteria of maximum contextual coalescence (that is to say, eliminating themes which might have led to ambiguous interpretation), clear relationship with a specific social ambit (in order to have other indices of linguistic usage in it), and a higher output in the tests carried out in the proving stage of the instruments. The following were finally decided upon:

1. Food and drink
2. The kitchen and dining-room
3. The street
4. The school or institute
5. Games, sports and amusements
6. The human body.

The decision to peg the number of topics to six was arbitrary, but was principally due to the need for not causing undue inconvenience to the institutions which cooperated in the pool - i.e. the teaching centres - since carrying out the exercises in two languages, Castilian and then Catalan or vice versa, involved increasing the number of sessions to twelve.

Most of the experiments in this type of tests had been conducted orally and over different periods according to the

various researchers. Cooper (1968 and 1969) set a time limit of one minute, Edelman (1968) confined the method to 6 to 12 year olds and reduced the time to 45 seconds, the same duration which Cohen also used (1975).

In our case, however, the tests were carried out in writing and lasted for three minutes. The reasons for these modifications mainly lay in the material limitations imposed upon this research. To conduct orally the 12 word-naming tests on the 868 persons questioned was in principle beyond our economic resources and the time available for dedicating ourselves to the project. Moreover, in the light of mental block difficulties and the lack of concentration displayed by not a few of those who were submitted to the test orally in the instrument-testing phase - a phenomenon also recorded by Victery (1971) - it was decided to pass straight to written exercises. Given the fact that the study did not purport to be about formal knowledge of the language but rather, on the contrary, spontaneous capacity, we placed special emphasis on pointing this out to the subjects questioned and on eliminating any tension which could have derived from orthographic uncertainties. Changed into a written activity, the test was converted into a collective exercise to be carried out individually in a relaxed way in the schoolroom.

The three minute duration was decided upon after trying out various time limits in the preliminary stage. Tests of one, two and five minutes' duration were experimented with. The decision to use three minutes was influenced by the drastic drop in output which individuals - mainly the younger ones - exhibited some two minutes after the start of the test. Three minutes therefore seemed to be best from the point of view of achieving the maximum output in the shortest time, a necessary criterion if interruptions in the routine work of those being questioned were to be kept to the minimum.

In spite of the advantages offered by deciding that the units should be produced in writing by the pupils themselves - speed in compiling and processing data, elimination of the mental block syndrome occurring in some individuals when face to face with an examiner - it was nevertheless necessary not to underrate the inconveniences. It is clear that in deciding on the expression of data in writing, we were exposing ourselves to the intervention of factors strictly relating to this linguistic automatism, factors which would have had a different or negative influence had the tests been carried out orally. In all probability the most important of these was the different degree of practice which individuals had in writing Castilian as compared with Catalan. In general, our individuals had learnt to read and write in Castilian and only afterwards had they had access to Catalan classes in which they learnt orthography and other formal aspects of that tongue. It was very possible then that the influence of this factor could be expected to exert itself during the execution of our written exercises.

With the aim of ascertaining the existence of this phenomenon, both oral and written tests - on the same topics and answered by the same subjects - were experimented with (see the more detailed description in Appendix B). The results revealed a tendency for a greater difference to be produced in Catalan than in Castilian when comparing the number of words expressed orally and in writing. In other words, in the case of written tests the number of words fell off more in Catalan than in Castilian, which seemed to confirm the influence which less practice in writing Catalan had on non-oral results. Statistical analyses of the correlation between the results of the oral and written exercises also show the imbalance in favour of Castilian which resulted in the written tests. Consequently, when examining our results it should always be borne in mind that the tests carried out were written not oral and were influenced by the greater incidence of written Castilian in the schooling of the subjects questioned.

Notwithstanding, the verification of this phenomenon offers no obstacle to prevent us from using the results of the word-naming tests in the statistical analysis of correlation between variables, the fundamental study instrument of the hypotheses advanced herein at the outset. Generalized as the fact of having been taught to read and write first in Castilian is throughout the second generation immigrant group, the influence of this factor is probably equally spread over the subjects questioned, which suggests that their differences in the production of words in Castilian and Catalan are due to other factors possibly also identifiable through the results of tests.

Calculation of the objective coefficient of the individual's bilinguality, i.e. of a single indicator of his or her linguistic competence - in this case in two different languages, on the basis of predominance of one over the other - enables the factors which contribute equally to mastery of the two languages to be automatically eliminated (Macnamara, 1967). Subtracting the results of the contextualized word-naming tests obtained in one language from those achieved in the other, one can avoid the intervention of individual variables, mainly cognitive, which make it possible for a person to learn a language in general terms. In this way, the objective quantification of linguistic competence is made available for the statistical study of the influence of extra-individual factors in the acquiring of such linguistic knowledge.

Contextualization of tests is achieved, as has been shown, by making available the topic to individual participants. It is thus the subject himself or herself who structures the referential context, thereby avoiding the situation in which it is the researcher who has to provide visual elements (drawings, photographs, transparencies) depicting this environment. This clear definition of referential areas or ambits enables, furthermore, the different degree of the individual's bilingual-

ity to be observed according to the topic in question, which provides us with a more realistic description of the linguistic usage of the individual - generally varied as it is - in a social background in which more than one language is employed (Cooper, 1969).

Fundamentally, the sociolinguistic questionnaire (see Appendix A) included questions on three large sections: a) Personal details, b) Self-evaluations on the context (spectator and interlocutory exposures) and behaviour in the various domains chosen, and c) The subjective qualification of the individual's own linguistic prowess.

In preparing the questionnaire use was made of the models suggested by Mackey (1978b) and the format devised by ourselves in an earlier work (Bastardas, 1985).

Six pilot groups - which thereafter did not figure in the final study proper - from the "Dr Estalella Graells" and "Mas i Perera" schools in Vilafranca del Penedès, the government school in Sant Quintí de Mediona and the Centre of Professional Training in Sant Sadurní d'Anoia were used experimentally for the first version. Apart from corrections to the phrasing of questions, the incorporation of new questions and other purely technical details, the difficulty could be readily appreciated of obtaining correct and truthful answers from the younger ones, i.e. 4th Grade EGB (9-10 years), if understanding of the questions was to be confined to a single reading. Also evident were the difficulties which this same sub-group encountered in having five optional replies to most of the sociolinguistic questions and generally in correctly distinguishing between the concepts of "spectator exposure" (to what they usually heard others speak in their vicinity), "interlocutory exposure" (to what others usually spoke to them) and "behaviour" (what they, the subjects questioned, spoke).

As a result therefore of these observations, it was decided to reduce the number of possible answers to the sociolinguistic questions to three, to indicate even more clearly the subject and object in each question, and, particularly to go ahead with a collective reply, question by question, to the whole questionnaire, with the questioner clarifying the sense of each question, principally in the case of the groups comprising the 9-10 and 12-13 year-olds. Due to the extended duration of this procedure, and always provided it were necessary, the questionnaire would occupy two one-hour sessions, with the aim of not tiring the subjects and thereby causing replies to lose veracity.

4.4 The sample

To obtain a sample of local children of 9-10 and 12-13 years of age (4th and 7th Grade E,G.B.) a class-group was taken

from each of these levels in nine (out of a total of 11) teaching centres in the municipality which lent their support to our research. Choice was at random and bearing in mind that these class-groups are made up on the basis of alphabetical criteria (first letter of the pupil's surname), so what no difficulty was anticipated in assuring a representative group. Achieving a sample of persons of 15-16 years of age (2nd Grade BUP-FP) meant taking all the groups of the normal daytime courses at this scholastic level in the town's four educational centres officially teaching these levels of study. The questionnaire was therefore given to all pupils attending the class, whatever the family or linguistic origins of the pupil might be, since to make a preliminary selection of subjects to be consulted and to proceed then to research each one separately would have resulted in still more difficulties. In this way 868 individuals were found to reply to the vocabulary tests and the sociolinguistic questionnaire. Since our primary aim centred on the bilingualization of children of immigrant parents monolingual in the home, 166 subjects of mixed families, i.e. children whose fathers were born in Catalonia and their mothers born elsewhere or vice versa, were excluded.

In a second selection from the remaining 702 individuals 292 were rejected for one or more of three reasons: a) The fact that they did not live within the limits of the town under study but in the surrounding area, which could have caused distorsion of the influence of the context; b) Not having attended class on one of the days a test was being conducted or a questionnaire had to be answered, which would have invalidated the overall results of the subject's tests; and c) Not having replied correctly in the exercises or questionnaires, that is to say, for displaying a lack of interest and reluctance to participate. The number of persons finally cleared for purposes of the study was 407 (200 of immigrant descent and 207 of Catalan origin).

To eliminate yet other factors which had to be controlled in a study on social bilingualization, a later selection weeded out from our groups those persons who did not comply with the following conditions a) Unilingual linguistic usage within the family on all occasions (between parents, parents and child and child and parents), Castilian for those of immmigrant descent and Catalan for those of Catalan origin; and b) Persons who on all counts, age and scholastic level attained, came within the constituted sub-groups (9-10 years, 4th Grade EGB; 12-13 years, 7th Grade EGB; and 15-16 years, 2nd Grade BUP or FP). This procedure finally left 163 second generation immigrant persons and 178 descendants of the Catalan-origin population. In this study we used fundamentally data deriving from the 163 persons of immigrant origin speaking one language only in the family. The other 178 subjects of the same generational stratum were only used on certain occasions for comparative purposes.

5. Compilation of Data

The compiling of data took place in the period February/March, 1984. The lexical exercises on the selected class-groups were carried out under the supervision of the subjects' own teachers or tutors at the educational centres which collaborated in the project, except in the case of the BUP and FP classes, where it was the researcher himself who generally undertook the collecting of data personally.

In order not to introduce factors into the results, the procedure observed in the word-naming tests was standardized for all those cooperating as invigilators. These were asked to follow scrupulously the instructions which were given to them individually regarding the conducting of tests. The exercises were spread over six sessions of two topics each, always in the same language to avoid interferences. The tests between one language and the other on the same theme were always held at least a week apart. The exact presentation of the tests, and the phrases and examples used in them, also followed a uniform pattern. Exercises in Catalan were answered on white, lined paper, already prepared for the purpose, and those in Castilian on yellow sheets (see Appendix A). The time limit of three minutes was punctiliously checked by chronometer at all sessions.

With regard to replies to the questionnaire, precise instructions explaining the meaning of each question were also given to the helpers in charge of each group in order to obviate as far as possible the proferring by each teacher of subjective interpretations on the sense of questions. This instrument was also answered collectively in class, thereby making for the maximum comfort and peace of mind of the individual participants. The subjects at adolescent level answered it practically without any intervention on the part of the person in charge of the group, except for the clarification of the meaning of a particular question. On the other hand, the 9-10 and 12-13 year olds answered question by question collectively after the teacher or person in charge had explained to them clearly the sense of what they were being asked and had made sure at the same time it was correctly understood.

6. Statistical Processing of Data

From the results obtained in the controlled word-naming tests three distinct coefficients were calculated: that of bilinguality (CB), that of interference in Catalan (DICT) and that of interference in Castilian (DICS). The incorporation of the last two, unforeseen at the outset of the project, was decided upon once the results of the lexical exercises had been analyzed and it had been observed that words of the other language were appearing with great frequency, mainly in the tests carried out in Catalan.

The calculation of the bilinguality coefficient was obtained by applying the following formula to each topic or interest-centre:

$$\frac{\text{Total nº of words Catalan test}}{\text{Total Catalan + Total Castilian}} - \frac{\text{Total nº of words Castilian test}}{\text{Total Catalan + Total Castilian}}$$

This coefficient was taken as an indicator of bilinguality, that is, of the relation between the capacity for lexical expression in each of the individual's two languages. The resulting figure could oscillate between -1 and +1.

The introduction of words not belonging to the language in which the test was conducted, that is, interference, was calculated by taking as the basis the number of words not forming part of the language of the exercise. The criterion for deciding whether or not words belonged to each of the languages in question was based on two fundamental conditions. For example, those words were not considered as belonging to the Catalan language which:

1. Did not figure in the *Diccionari de la Liengua Catalana* (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1983); and
2. Were at the same time to be found in the *Diccionario idelógico de la Lengua Española*, by J. Casares (Barcelona: Ed. Gustavo Gili, 1973 - 2nd edition, 6th impression).

These two conditions ensure that the word considered invalid does not belong to the most recently compiled corpus of the Catalan language and that furthermore it forms part of the prevailing corpus of the Castilian tongue. Thus, neologisms, names of commercial brands or any other type of word current in the daily life of the group being researched and which do not figure in the Catalan *Diccionari* were considered to be invalid unless their Castilian origin could be clearly proved. For Castilian the same criterion applied, but in reverse.

Also regarded as being interferences were those hybrid forms which, while not precisely belonging to one language or the other, gave clear indications of being words of one of the two languages adapted to the phonetic and morphological rules peculiar to the other (e.g.: "cutxill", "horn" in Catalan, obviously taken from the Castilian words "cuchillo", "horno").

The formula used for calculating the coefficient was:

$$\frac{\text{Nº of interferences in Catalan (or in Castilian)}}{\text{Total nº of words produced in Catalan (or in Castilian)}}$$

The result of this operation gives us a figure representing the percentage of words uttered during a test which do not belong to the language in which the test was supposed to have been conducted, that is to say, words clearly belonging to the other language. The figure can oscillate between 0 and 100.

The resulting coefficients, calculated in accordance with these formulae and relating to the various topics and interest-centres used in the pupil's word-naming tests, were at the same time globalized in a single index per dimension: overall bilinguality coefficient, overall coefficient of interference in Catalan and overall coefficient of interference in Castilian. These indices were calculated by taking the arithmetical average of the results obtained for each dimension in the six interest-centres as a whole.

Each answer to a question in the questionnaire amounted in general to a variable which was later used in the statistical analyses. Furthermore, other information was incorporated deriving from population census returns or from our poll itself, from which new variables were created such as the socio-economic status of the family, the composition of the residential area and of the school class-group.

The socio-economic status of the family took the form of the degree of schooling of the head of the family, as gleaned from data in the official town census: 1. Inability to read or write, or ability to do so only with difficulty, 2. Primary education not completed, 3. Primary education or EGB 1st cycle completed, and 4. EGB 2nd cycle completed / Professional Training / Secondary education completed / Intermediate diploma / University degree.

The composition of the residential area, in terms of the origin of its inhabitants, was assessed according to the birthplace of people living in each of the official municipal districts and born before 1960 (= adult population). The specific figure is the percentage of Catalans in the district in relation to immigrants.

The make-up of the school-class, in terms of origin of the population, is also the percentage of Catalans (children of Catalan-born parents) found in the classroom in relation to immigrants. Basic data came from the results of the enquiries made in the course of this particular research - project. In view of the fact that individuals of mixed Catalan/immigrant origin were also found in the schools, and for the purpose of assigning them to one origin-group or the other, the percentages of the results of proficiency and linguistic usage recorded in an earlier work of the author on children of mixed marriages in the same town (Bastardas, 1985) were taken as the criterion (Table 204).

Statistical processing of the data was carried out by means of the SPSS and SAS basic programme packages. Calculations were made of frequencies (for the variables resulting from the questionnaire) and of the averages for the lexical exercises. To establish the relation between categorical variables (e.g. sex) we used the Chi Square and the contingency coefficient. Between the categoricals and the continuous (e.g. the coefficients) "T" average tests were carried out for each categorical dimension. Between the categorical-ordinal variables (the case of the majority of those in the questionnaire), Pearson's *r* coefficient was generally used, after having placed the variables in ascending order of preponderance of Catalan, although diagramatically this may not have been the ideal one owing to the zonification only being on three points. The use of this Pearson coefficient thus enabled us to calculate the intensity of its relation on a scale from 0 to 1. Similarly, variables susceptible to being so analyzed (continuous -coefficients- and categorical-ordinal, although not very well in the case of the last) were also analyzed in multiple regressions on linguistic competence, a calculation which enabled us to study their impact as a whole.

As a symbol of statistical significance, we use throughout this study the following convention: x = $p<.05$, xx = $p<.01$ and xxx = $p<.001$.

In the statistical tables, resort is regularly made to another norm. The calculation of percentages which refer to linguistic usage in any of the variables is always based on valid replies for this linguistic usage, that is to say, it sets aside types of reply such as "Did not answer" or "Does not take any part in this domain". Absolute accuracy was thus achieved in the comparison of linguistic usage in each ambit. Nevertheless, to denote the significance of the non-linguistic dimensions - "Did not answer", "Did not take part", etc. - the percentage of such replies in relation to the total number of replies is also shown, though always in brackets.

C H A P T E R I I

DEMOGRAPHY AND LINGUISTIC CONTEXT, BEHAVIOUR AND COMPETENCE OF THE SECOND GENERATION IMMIGRANT IN VILAFRANCA DEL PENEDÈS

We deal in this chapter with the distribution of the population in the locality studied and with the results of the poll and tests relating to linguistic context, behaviour and competence of the total group researched.

1. Immigration in Vilafranca Del Penedès

Vilafranca del Penedès is situated in the lower-lying land in the centre of the Alt Penedès region, in the left sector of the river Foix, and coming under the administrative jurisdiction of the province of Barcelona. According to official figures, as of December 31, 1983, its inhabitants numbered 25,879. Its working population was made up of: 45% in services, 41% in industry (of which 20% were in activities connected with agriculture, 21% textiles, 18% metals and 17% construction) and 14% in agriculture (Virella, 1980:476).

Very slowly up to 1960 and in greater numbers thereafter, the town of Vilafranca del Penedès has been receiving immigrants from other - non Catalan-speaking - parts of Spain during the present century. The proportion of the town's population not born in Catalan-speaking zones only amounted to 6.82% of the total number of inhabitants in 1930, and to 14.09% in 1950. At the present time, according to 1983 figures, such persons constitute 28.73% of the total population of Vilafranca (Table 201).

The principal migratory waves occurred after the year 1960, which saw the beginning of the period, lasting until 1980, in which natural growth fell below that due to migration.

The origins of the immigrant population were also changing throughout the century. While in 1930 Aragón and Murcia, in that order, were the Castilian-speaking zones of Spain which provided most immigrants, in 1950, and again in 1983, Andalusia and Extremadura were the most common birthplaces of non-Catalan inhabitants of Vilafranca del Penedès.

When they arrived in the new enclave, most of these immigrants made their homes around the centre of the town in the new neighbourhoods which this stage of demographic and economic expansion helped to create. Thus, at the present time they are

concentrated in districts 2.1 and 2.3 of the zone known as "L'Espirall" (31.9%), in 4.1 and 4.3 of "El Poble Nou" (16.4%), in 3.1 of "Sant Julià" (15.9%) and in districts 1.1 and 1.2 of the quarter known as "Les Clotes" (13.1%) (see Table 202 and Fig. 1).

In some of the new neighbourhoods the volume of persons of immigrant origin gets to be so high that they constitute the majority of the inhabitants. This occurs in districts 2.3 and 2.1 of the "L'Espirall" quarter, in which the ratio of immigrant-origin persons to those of Catalan origin is respectively 62.38% and 57.43%.

In the other peripheral zones in which immigrants reside, while they may not be in the majority, they frequently aggregate important percentages which in some cases represent very nearly half of the total number of inhabitants in the area.

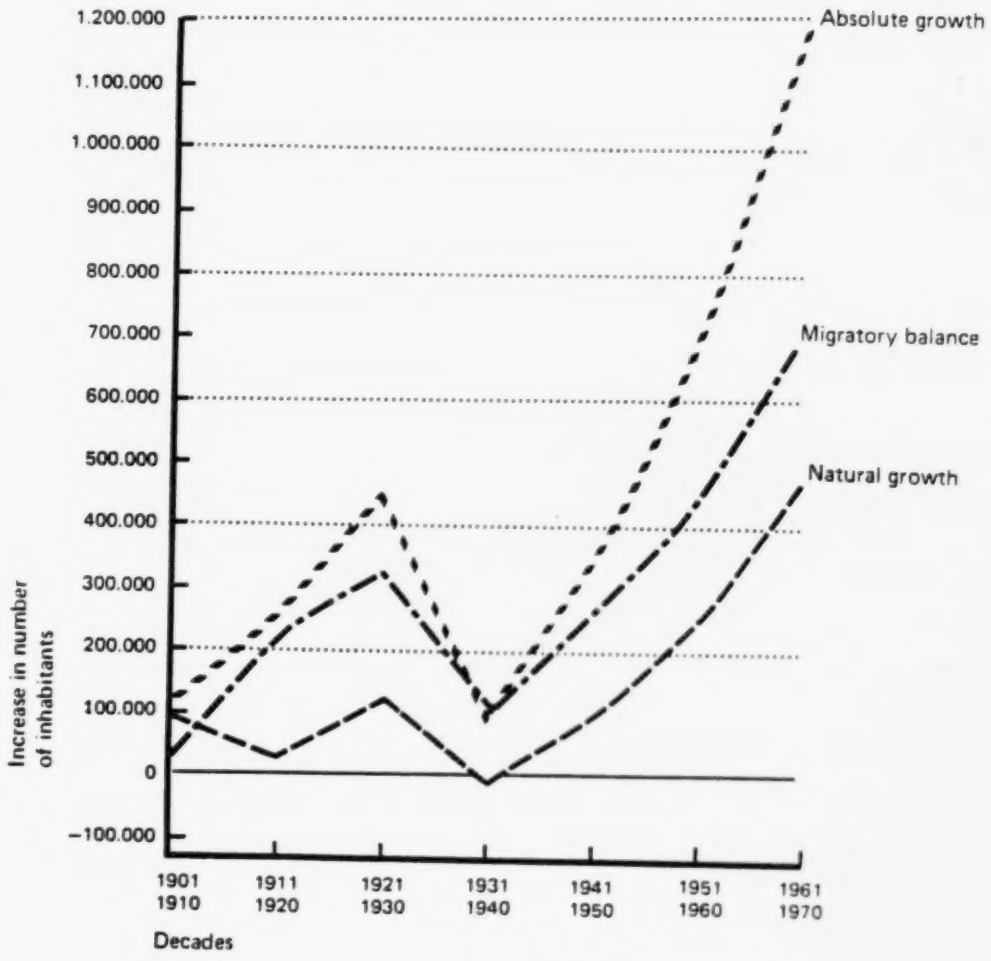
Overall, the majority of the immigrant-origin population (65.6%) reside in districts in which they live together with 51-75% of persons of Catalan origin. About a third however are to be found in predominantly immigrant neighbourhoods. Only some 2.5% live in areas in which the Catalan influence is clearly preeminent (between 76-100%).

If we assume an individual's birthplace and first language to be equivalent, i.e. born in Catalan territory = Catalan-speaking, born in the rest of Spain = Castilian-speaking, we can attempt a study of the global linguistic situation resulting from the migratory phenomenon. Bearing in mind however that this equivalence is not strictly correct if we refer to the children of immigrants who, although born in Vilafranca, will not necessarily have had Catalan spoken to them by their parents, we will therefore only take into consideration inhabitants born prior to 1960, whose results will approximate more nearly to the overall linguistic reality (Strubell, 1981).

If we apply to this particular group as a whole the aforementioned equivalence between origin and language we find we have, in general terms, some 60% having Catalan as their first language and some 40% having Castilian as their first language, figures which differ from those suggested to us by mere consideration of the birthplace of the present total population, i.e. 71% and 29% respectively (see Tables 202 and 201). In the specific generational stratum dealt with in this study (9-16 year olds), the population is made up, basing on official figures (allowing for a 7% margin of error due to possible errors in the official detailing of the head of the family in census returns), of 42% persons whose father and mother are of Catalan origin, 35% having both parents of immigrant origin and 23% of mixed parentage, i.e. children born of couples in which one partner is of Catalan origin and the other of immigrant origin. Very similar figures are also obtained from those making up the 4th and 7th Grade EGB class-

FIGURE 3

Absolute Growth of Catalonia, Natural and Migratory, per Decade From 1901 to 1970



Source: *Recolons, 1976.*

groups questioned in our study (in the 2nd Grade of BUP and FP a great number of students born in the outlying region are to be found, and consequently their numerical importance is invalid in this respect). According to our own figures then, 42% of the population comprising the 9-10 and 12-13 year age groups as a whole is of completely Catalan origin, both parents of 37% were of immigrant-origin and 21% stem from mixed marriages. Consequently, these results validate to a sufficient degree the methodology used in picking out the general sample, at least in the 4th and 7th Grade EGB levels (Table 203).

A marked fall-off in the numbers of strictly Catalan-origin population and the compensatory appearance of an important number of persons of mixed origin, children of couples consisting of one partner born in Catalonia and the other outside the territory, would seem to be indisputable in this group of 9-16 year olds as a whole. On the other hand, the decrease is less in the case of the proportion of persons whose parents were both born outside Catalonia, a group which approximates numerically, in this range of ages, to that made up of descendants of couples of completely Catalan origin.

Given that, generally speaking, in the situation we are reviewing, married couples formed by persons of the same origin tend to use their first language in communicating with their offspring and that it is this same language which equally is used by the latter in addressing their parents, it would seem logical to think that persons between 9 and 16 years of age of indigenous origin have Catalan as their first language and that those of immigrant origin have Castilian. In order therefore to establish a more exact global linguistic estimation of this particular generational segment, one needs to know the linguistic behaviour of mixed-origin family units in the home.

At the time this work went to press, the data obtained in our poll on familiar linguistic usage between married couples formed by spouses of differing origins had not yet been collated, for which reason we cannot accurately evaluate the linguistic transmission from parents to children which occurred in such family units. However we do have available to us the results of earlier studies made in the same town on linguistic usage in mixed marriages (Bastardas, 1985), which can be used as a basis for calculating an appreciation of the first language into which persons of this origin came into contact (Table 204).

Applying the results of the earlier study to the sub-group of mixed origin in the present study, and adding them to those already on record for individuals born of couples of homogeneous origin, we find that in the age segment studied (9-16 years) it is feasible to arrive at the figure of 55% for individuals whose first language is Catalan, 40% for those whose first language is Castilian and 5% bilinguals, that is, cases in which both languages are used in the family unit itself (Table 205).

Comparing these results with those for the whole group of the population born before 1960, the existence can be inferred in the 9-16 years segment of a relatively similar reproduction of these linguistic groups of the same order as that recorded in the first case. The only appreciable difference would appear to reside in the appearance of the bilingual families (5%) at the cost of the unilinguals of the Catalan-speaking group, who drop from 60 to 55% in the global whole of the population. For its part, the group having Castilian as its first language continues unchanged at 40%.

In consequence, the tendency which seems to assert itself in the case of this new generational group as a whole is the perpetuation of an important sector using Castilian as its first language, although born in Catalonia, and a slight fall-off percentage-wise in those of the population having Catalan as sole first language on account of marriages between individuals of different origin.

2. Social and Demographic Characteristics of the Total Group Studied

The group finally resulting from the selection of the sample of second generation immigrants in Vilafranca del Penedès consists, as previously indicated, of 163 individuals, subdivided into three age/school level groups: 40% - 9-10 years/4th Grade EGB, 37% - 12-13 years/7th Grade EGB and 22% - 15-16 years/BUP-FP.

By sex, the whole is composed of 53% males and 47% females. There are also differences in the make-up of the 15-16 years age group/BUP-FP as regards sex: 61% being boys and only 39% girls. In all probability this phenomenon reflects the true state of affairs and does not seem to be attributable to any cause deriving from the sampling.

The large majority of the total number of persons researched - those between 9-16 years of age - were born in Catalonia (78%) or arrived there at the age of 3 or less (12%), which constitutes a group very homogeneously exposed to identical conditions, with very few differences as regards length of residence (Table 206).

Taking the educational level of the head of the family as the indicator of the socio-economic background from which a person originates, a noteworthy difference can be detected between subjects of Catalan origin and those of immigrant origin. A small majority of the latter group (56%) does not get past point 2 of the scale, i.e. did not complete primary education. On the other hand, Catalans in the same situation are less than half the number of immigrants (24%). At the opposite extreme, 38% of those of Catalan origin record having completed

middle and higher grades of education, while the figure for the immigrant group stands at around 17%. These results confirm the general impression in the medium under study of a predominance of immigrant-origin inhabitants in the more manual levels of the working sector in which a lower standard of education is required. However, this does not signify a total substitution of the indigenous population by immigrants at this occupational level, at which subjects of both origins are to be found although in contrasting proportions. Complementarily, as the standard of qualifications required for performing specific tasks increases so the presence of immigrants diminishes, though this does not presuppose the total absence in these professional strata of persons born outside Catalonia.

Side by side then with an immigrant presence of a lower educational standard there is also to be found an influx of individuals with a notably high level of education who constitute a separate immigrant sub-group of increasing significance in the social and economic structure of Catalonia (see Table 207).

In immigrant families linguistic usage is generally monolingual Castilian in all communicative aspects, that is to say, between parents, between parents and children and between children and parents. This monolingualism, but in Catalan, occurs in the same way in family units of autochthonous origin. As indicated earlier herein, cases of bilingualism within the family can arise in mixed marriages, that is, those formed by a member of each of the linguistic groups in question (vide Bastardas, 1985), but, on the other hand, are infrequent when the two partners come from the same origin.

3. The Extra-Familiar Linguistic Context

As a result of the distribution of the population over various districts of the locality, 57% of second generation immigrants live in predominantly Catalan-tendency zones, while 40% reside in areas in which the native population is in the minority and which consequently have an immigrant majority (Table 208).

In the light of this particular space-residential structure, most of the conglomerate group studied hear both Catalan and Castilian spoken in the environment of the neighbourhood in which they live, but more than a third (about 38%) are only exposed to Catalan to a slight or very small degree in these surroundings. Although living then in a township in which the proportion of immigrants is less than that of Catalans, the dynamism of residential localization has engendered a concentration of Castilian-speaking inhabitants in specific zones which, in turn, has consequently resulted in a certain isolation and segregation of the immigrants with respect to the hosts (Table 209).

If instead of looking at their linguistic context in their residential zone from the spectator exposure point of view that - is, what they hear around them by reason of the conversational exchanges at which they happen to be present - we examine it from the dimension of interlocutory exposure - messages specifically uttered for their attention - the figures change considerably. Although 57% earlier declared that they heard Catalan and Castilian to an equal degree in their neighbourhood, when it comes down to how people there address them the majority percentage representing those who always or nearly always speak Castilian rises to 68%. Only the remainder declared that they received interlocutory messages in both Catalan and Castilian (Table 209).

As we shall see throughout the chapter, this difference between the two dimensions - spectator and interlocutory exposures - in the same context, keeps on repeating itself, always in the same sense, viz. a greater use of Castilian in messages addressed directly to the individual immigrant, despite the fact that the occurrence of that language in the spectator dimension is lesser.

In all probability, the difference between these two measurements of the context reflects the tendency of the hosts themselves to use Castilian when addressing persons of immigrant origin, whether these be of the first or second generation. Simple observation of inter-group relations in the locality studied gives cause for interpreting the different results of one or other dimension in this sense. The Catalan population, bilingualized in Castilian principally through their schooling and the communication media, generally use their mother tongue to communicate with members of their own linguistic group, but in interactions with the immigrant group they are accustomed to use Castilian in preference. In these circumstances, the context in which individuals coming from non-Catalan parts reside exposes them to Catalan to a greater or lesser degree but, in general, only by reason of the conversations in which Catalan-origin persons around them are engaged. Catalan speakers themselves will tend to use Castilian when they have to address persons of immigrant origin.

In school, where the individual will spend a large amount of time in the first years of his or her life, the breakdown of the population, according to whether they be of Catalan or immigrant origin, reveals other characteristics distinct from those recorded for zone of residence. In this ambit, the majority of immigrants are to be found, in global terms, in class-groups in which immigrant-origin individuals predominate (58%), although an appreciable percentage (42%) of the conglomerate whole comprises school classes in which Catalans constitute the majority (Table 208).

The component formed by 15-16 year olds, contrary to the other two, is completely immersed in class-groups in which

Catalans are in the majority, a phenomenon readily explicable by the fact that it finds itsel pursuing secondary education studies (BUP and FP) in centres which admit, in addition to the student population of the town of Vilafranca del Penedès, a large number of students at this level who live in the extensive area surrounding the regional capital we are concerned with. Another factor which could have a bearing would be a lower attendance of immigrant-origin students, either because schooling is discontinued after completion of the basic cycle prior to the secondary stage (EGB) or, even less likely, because there is a lower incidence of immigrant-origin persons of this age in the locality we are studying.

In the other two sub-groups, the 9-10 and 12-13 year olds, the tendency, generally speaking, is the reverse. In the latter age-group in particular, corresponding to the 7th Grade of basic studies (EGB), most individuals of immigrant origin (85%) find themselves in classes in which members of their own group largely predominate numerically. At the 4th Grade level - the 9-10 year olds - the distribution of the school population reveals predominantly immigrant-origin classes, although to a lesser extent (64%). One of the factors which could account for this difference between the two sub-groups, the 7th and 4th grades of EGB, is the phenomenon of the mixed marriage, which is more pronounced in the case of children of the lower school grade. As already stated, to calculate the breakdown by linguistic group of pupils of this origin we had recourse to the author's earlier study (Bastardas, 1985), and the results obtained therefrom were applied in typifying individuals, which caused the younger sub-group to have the greater number of individuals speaking Catalan as their first language (Table 204).

In strictly linguistic terms, the spectator exposure to Catalan to which second generation immigrant persons were subjected in the classroom, by reason of the presence there of their classmates, follows the pattern of the tendencies already portrayed by demographic breakdown by origin. In the 15-16 year age sub-group (BUP-FP), hardly anyone could avoid hearing Catalan spoken in his or her school environment by other pupils in the classroom: half of them heard it spoken to the same degree as Castilian, but for the other half the language of the host group was predominant in the class-group. In the sub-group of the 12-13 year olds / 7th Grade EGB, and coinciding with demographic data, the majority are only slightly or very mildly exposed to Catalan from their classmates (62%). In the sub-group of the 9-10 year olds / 4th Grade EGB the situation becomes more diversified: 44% hear Castilian continuously or almost all the time, 36% hear Catalan and Castilian to an equal degree and 20% are exposed principally to Catalan. Stress must be laid then on the difference in linguistic environments principally between EGB and BUP/FP for second generation immigrants in the locality researched. For the majority of individuals of that origin who embark on secondary education courses, entering the institute

very probably signifies a considerable change in the scholastic linguistic context to which they have been accustomed, which tended to be dominated by Castilian in the basic studies stage while in the secondary cycle it is Catalan which predominates (Table 210).

If important changes are to be seen in spectator linguistic exposure from age group to age group, this is not the case with interlocutory exposure. Notwithstanding the change of context from one sub-group to another, the language in which they receive messages directly uttered for their attention shows no significant variation between the three levels. The overall result therefore correctly sums up the general situation: the majority always or nearly always receive interlocutory messages in Castilian (63%), and only in a minority of cases are they spoken to in Catalan and Castilian to an equal degree (28%) or very predominantly in Catalan (8%). Variation of context composition does not imply then any change in the language in which they are directly addressed. Once again, the only logical explanation for this situation is the use of Castilian by Catalans in addressing themselves to individuals of immigrant origin. The decisive factor, as we have already indicated, is that they are not exposed to individual monolingual hosts but to an autochthonous population, bilingual in Catalan and Castilian, which generally uses Catalan for talking to members of its own group, but on the contrary inclines towards Castilian when conversing with persons who learnt that language in the first instance. In this way, although the number of host population persons present at any one time may increase or diminish, the linguistic usage of second generation immigrants - in the same manner as must generally occur with the first generation - shows no variations of any significance, at least, in this domain (Table 210).

In addition to spending the greater part of the day in school, individuals of this age can also carry out organized social recreational and educational leisure activities (sports, music, drawing and painting, infant and juvenile groups, excursions, etc.), which are also potential sources of linguistic dissemination, especially in a bilingual medium such as we are describing. Slightly more than 70% of the population questioned take part in these types of activities. In the total conglomerate, the results recorded by the individuals concerned, as regards spectator exposure in this ambit, are divided more or less equally between the three situations: predominance of Catalan (43%), equal use of Catalan/Castilian (30%) and predominance of Castilian (27%). No variations of any importance exist between the three age/school level sub-groups, except that the younger the age of the individual the less frequent is attendance at such activities, and the greater tendency towards exposure to Castilian (46%) revealed in the case of the 12-13 year age sub-group, which is the school level also characterized by the higher incidence of that language in the classroom.

In the case of interlocutory exposure, the general tonic is also that of Castilian predominance language-wise, but to a slightly lesser extent (55%) than in the other ambits analyzed so far; a result complemented by the figures for the use of the two languages in messages received (21%) and the use of Catalan by preference (24%). This different linguistic state of affairs in this sphere - although we have to remember that it refers solely to some 70% of the immigrant component - is also to be seen in the differences existing between the three age sub-groups. Thus, while the number of individuals who do not participate in organized recreational activities progressively drops as they get older, the reverse phenomenon is observed in respect of interlocutory exposure in Catalan. The result is that the sub-group of 9-10 year olds receives messages in Castilian to a much lesser extent than the sub-group of 15-16 year olds (34% as to 72%), while, in contrast, no such differences exist as regards spectator exposure. The reasons for this difference between the averages for one or other sub-group must therefore lie in other factors (Table 211).

Contrary to organized recreational activities, the group of friends represents a voluntary, continuous and, generally speaking, stable relationship between a number of individuals. From early childhood it will be the group, or sometimes the companion, that he or she plays with at home or out of doors in leasure periods away from school and organized recreational activities. Nearing adolescence, the set of playmates becomes the group with which he or she goes out regularly in search of entertainment, and which exerts such an important influence on the individual at that age. Overall, the total conglomerate studied clearly tends to hear principally Castilian being spoken in this domain, that is to say that individuals tend to surround themselves with persons of immigrant rather than Catalan origin. The tendency is general in all sub-groups except that of the adolescents, the 15-16 year olds, in which the percentage of spectator exposure to Castilian falls to 43%, implying a greater relationship with members of the other - the host - linguistic group than that recorded in the other age levels. During the basic studies stage, up to the age of 14, the immigrant-origin group clearly tends to have scant relations with the host group in the voluntary ambit constituted by the group of friends. They come into contact together to a greater or lesser degree at school and at organized recreational activities but spontaneous relations between them is rare outside these spheres. On the other hand, in the adolescent stage a greater rapport between the two linguistic groups can be detected at this informal and voluntary level (Table 212). However, this increase in the degree of contact with the host group does not mean in practice a greater interlocutory exposure to Catalan at the linguistic level, even in the circle of the group of friends. In line with the general tendency observed in the other areas of social activity referred to, the presence in this ambit of an equal number of individuals of Catalan origin does not imply that these automatically use their mother tongue for communicating

with companions of immigrant origin. Although less than that recorded in the other age sub-groups, the percentage (74%) of interlocutory exposure in Castilian at the age level of 15-16 years shows this to be so (Table 212).

Taking into consideration all the data as a whole, it can be concluded that despite the fact that the interactional context of the two groups in question occasionally shows the immigrant-origin component to be subject to a considerable degree of spectator exposure in Catalan, this input is only very rarely converted into interlocutory exposure in the language of the host group. In general, as we have continually pointed out herein, individuals of the Catalan component, bilingual in the main by reason of the language in which they were taught and because of the mass media, use Castilian, their second tongue, to communicate with members of the second generation immigrant community.

As for linguistic influences not directly dependent on the demographic context, such as those which come from teachers during schooling, the true state of affairs is complex and diverse depending upon the various aspects. With regard to learning to read and write, practically all this second generation has been taught in Castilian (see Table 214). The total amount of weekly Catalan language classes it has received varies with the age of the individual and the date when the particular scholastic centre first included the teaching of this subject in its curriculum (see Table 215). In general, it is presently taught for three hours a week and centres mainly on imparting the more formal aspects of the language, viz. grammar, spelling, literature, etc..

As regards the vehicular language of primary and secondary education, the individuals of immigrant origin who were the object of our research are living through a complex transitionary stage which is still incomplete. The present Catalan autonomous Government, on which so many of the responsible bodies governing the educational system in Catalonia depend, has as its official policy the attainment of an equal knowledge of Catalan and Castilian by the end of primary education (EGB). To this end, it is progressively introducing, within the limits of its possibilities, the use of Catalan as the language of educational instruction. In view of the fact that the rhythm with which these measures can be put into force has varied from school to school, depending on the availability of qualified teachers, the inclination and resolution of parents and teachers, etc., we find differing and complex situations arising from one individual to another.

The overall results of our survey reveal this intricate state of affairs: 44% have always or nearly always been taught in Castilian, 31% approximately equally in both languages and 24% preferably in Catalan. By age sub-groups, the level at which Catalan has been most present is that of the adolescents (only

30% of whom have never been exposed to classes in Catalan). By contrast, in the sub-group of the 7th Grade EGB 12-13 year olds, Catalan has been little used as the vehicular language (57% of this sub-group have almost always had classes in Castilian). It would appear that one can deduce from these results that there has been a progressive Catalanization in the teaching of the sub-groups at both extremes, while the middle sub-group (7th Grade) continues to be more exposed to Castilian. Very probably this situation can be explained by the priority given to starting the introduction of Catalan in the lowest EGB grades on the one hand, and on the other, by the greater presence of Catalan teachers in the secondary levels (BUP-FP) with respect to the basic stage (Table 213).

To synthesize the context as a whole, a scale of total global exposure, compiled by allotting two points to the selection of the "Always in Catalan" option, one point to "Approximately equally in Catalan and Castilian" and zero to "Always in Castilian", on all the replies referring to the interactional ambits researched and to the vehicular language of instruction in school, reveals a generalized, though weak, exposure to the language of the host group in the social milieu. In other words, practically all the individuals of the second generation immigrant group in the locality studied appear to have had contact with Catalan, but only 21% to a greater extent than they have had with Castilian, in the world of social activities outside the family. By age levels, it is the adolescent sub-group which receives greatest exposure to the language of the host group (44% to a greater extent than Castilian), while it is the sub-group of 12-13 year olds which receives least (only 10% hear more Catalan than Castilian) (Table 216).

Application of the same points-count criterion to replies on interlocutory exposure results in a less favourable rating for this type of contact with the host language. Only 11% of the total number of individuals questioned have received more messages in Catalan than Castilian in the social medium, while some 24% (as against 9% in the case of spectator exposure) do not mark up a single point, which signifies that never have they been, nor are in general, spoken to in Catalan in the whole of the domains analyzed (Table 216).

When we come to the mass communication media, exposure to Catalan seems to be even less general. For instance, taking television and/or video, only 6% of individuals say that they watch items in Catalan for two hours or more a day, and 25% one hour or less daily. In contrast, 67% of the immigrant-origin youngsters watch TV or video programmes in Castilian for 2 hours or more a day, and 25% for one hour or less daily. These data correspond to the first quarter of 1984, when the television offering in Catalan was relatively small and in hours of lowest audience-viewing. Today, in addition to the periods in Catalan already in service on the State channels, a third TV channel, belonging to the autonomous Government, is in operation during

hours of maximum spectator time. Our data therefore are prior to the inauguration of this new service transmitting in the language of the host group (Table 217).

Nor as regards radio does Catalan pervade the homes of the immigrant component to any great extent. Only 44% listen to programmes in Catalan for two hours or more daily and 19% for one hour or less a day, while 47% do not ever hear broadcasts in Catalan at all. Despite the fact that nowadays radio is less popular than television with children and young people, the figures are more favourable for reception of programmes in Castilian, to which 19% listen each day for two hours or more and 30% for one hour or less daily. Contrary also to what happens in the case of Catalan broadcasts, the proportion of those who never listen to radio programmes in Castilian drops to 20% (Table 218).

As for the impact of written Catalan, in the form of books, newspapers, periodicals, etc., the incidence is also meagre. Of those questioned, 67% always, or nearly always, read publications in their mother tongue (Table 220).

Given the fact that in the cinema the occurrence of Catalan is also insignificant (Table 219), the pressure exerted by that language through modern means of communication was, on the whole, feeble in the first quarter of 1984. As for the future, it must be borne in mind that the influence which the new television channel can have on persons of Castilian-speaking origin as regards acquiring knowledge of Catalan, will depend in the final instance on their readiness to tune in to the Catalan transmitter, since Castilian programmes on television will continue to be general on the two State channels.

It is important to stress that a more pronounced tendency to tune into Catalan programmes can apparently be observed on the part of the age/school level sub-group of the 15-16 year olds rather than in the case of the other two sub-groups. Their percentages for tuning into host-language programmes are higher that the total average both for television and radio. It would seem therefore that a greater degree of receptivity and voluntary exposure to the audio-visual media in Catalan exists in the adolescent component.

Finally, in the linguistic context of this second generation of immigrants, Castilian is on the whole to be found more than Catalan in the medium of social relations and the educational system, as well as in the communication media. The pressure of Catalan on these subjects is still further reduced if we take into account only messages directly uttered for their attention, for which a large part of the members of the autochthenous population use Castilian.

4. Linguistic Behaviour

The result of linguistic usage by the second generation immigrant in the various social ambits coincide, in general terms, with those recorded for interlocutory exposure, although in certain cases there is even greater predominance of Castilian over Catalan. Thus, of those who attend organized recreational activities - the area with relatively higher incidence of Catalan - 59% almost always speak in Castilian, while 70% do so in their own neighbourhood, 71% in the school class-group and 83%, the highest percentage, in their group of friends. By age groups, no important differences exist in linguistic behaviour except in the field of recreational activities, an area, let it be remembered, in which 28% are not represented. In this zone of social activity the use of Castilian drops off - which means that the use of Catalan is higher - the younger the age of the subject (Table 221).

A majority of around 59% has also almost always used Castilian with the teacher in school. Their linguistic behaviour here and that recorded in the area of recreational activities are however those in which the use of Catalan is greatest, though, notwithstanding, Catalan is always the minority language in these two situations (Table 221).

The global scale of linguistic behaviour shows then a noticeably less use of Catalan by the second generation immigrant as opposed to Castilian. In the total number of social domains involved, only 9% of those questioned speak more in Catalan than in Castilian. Another significant detail is the 42% of subjects who own to never using Catalan in any of the areas of social activity about which they were questioned; this proportion rises to 56% in the case of the 15-16 years sub-group (see Table 222). It would seem therefore that an increase can be detected in the use of the language of the host group the younger the subject is, although in general more use is made by the individual of his or her mother tongue.

5. Linguistic Competence

We understand linguistic competence to be the comglomerate of internalized skills which enable an individual to understand messages receive in a given language and to be himself or herself the transmitter of communications in the language in question.

As we have already indicated, linguistic competence differs from linguistic behaviour inasmuch as the former denotes what the individual knows or understands - that is to say, his or her utilizable potential - while the latter refers to what the individual does or produces - in other words, his or her actual use of the language.

Within linguistic competence itself we have to distinguish between receptive potential (understanding) and expressive potential (speaking). Differentiation between the two, as we shall see, is crucial in any study of the second generation immigrant in Catalonia.

In general, the total number of subjects questioned understands Catalan without difficulty (Table 223), i.e. has acquired receptive competence in that language. When asked however in what language they preferred to be taught at school - with the aim of determining the extent to which they felt in receiving messages in their second language and their acceptance of this fact - the majority reply is that favouring being taught in Castilian (64%). Nevertheless, significant variations show up between the different age groups. For instance, the sub-group of 15-16 year olds displays a greater acceptance of this receptive use of Catalan, since the replies indicating exclusive preference for Castilian drop to 39%. There exists then an important change between the opinion of the two EGB levels and that of the adolescent group, which would appear to signify greater acquiescence in and integration with the use of Catalan in schooling as the subject gets older (Table 224).

On the other hand, their self-assessment of their expressive competence is very different from that which they declare with regard to their receptive capacity. Only 26% believed that they knew how to speak Catalan well, while the rest estimated their proficiency to be only fair, a result which also varies slightly throughout the three age groups, with a tendency now for it to be those individuals of adolescent level who least know how to speak Catalan well (the figure falls to 14%) (Table 223).

Replies to the question which set out to show their grade of colloquial fluency of Catalan, that is, the extent of their facility and automatism in expressive use of that language in contrast with that of Castilian, also appear to reflect a disappointing situation with respect to the acquisition of Catalan by this second generation. Overall, some 83% affirm that Castilian is the language which, in general, it suits them better to speak, while only 14% of the subjects gave the "Castilian/Catalan" reply (Table 224).

The results of the poll appear to indicate therefore that the second generation of Castilian-speaking immigrants residing in the selected locality have acquired a receptive proficiency in Catalan in their social context, which is probably consolidated as the individual gets older but that, on the contrary, only a minority has succeeded in developing its expressive capacity in that tongue.

The coefficients calculated on the product of the word-naming exercises already described in the last chapter also show a predominance of Castilian over Catalan in the bilinguality of

persons of immigrant origin. In spite of the fact that, as we indicated in describing such tests, these were conducted in writing and not orally, which tends to provoke a distorsion of the results in favour of Castilian - the language used more often in written expression - comparison of the results obtained by immigrants with those of Catalans, the majority of whom are also subjected to greater use of Castilian in the written medium, seems to us to be generally a fairly accurate indicator of the actual state of affairs regarding the utilizable bilingual capacity of the individuals studied.

The immigrant group shows an average coefficient of bilinguality of -.096, on a scale which can oscillate between -1 (maximum predominance of Castilian) and +1 (maximum predominance of Catalan), and on which zero would indicate a perfectly balanced mastery of both languages. The Catalan-origin component, on the other hand, provides an average of -.005, representing practically a balanced Catalan/Castilian bilinguality. Consequently, it can be deduced that, although subjects with immigrant parents know Catalan to a pronounced degree, this competence never gets to equal the command they have of their mother tongue, such as occurs in the case of Catalan-origin individuals in the same social context (Table 225).

This difference between their proficiency in Castilian and Catalan in second generation immigrants, is constant throughout all the age sub-groups. In short, no significant fluctuations are recorded between the average coefficients of bilinguality of the three immigrant-origin sub-groups, nor, morever, between them and those of Catalan origin. The proportional knowledge of Catalan with respect to Castilian does not alter then as the individual gets older. At all events, it can increase at the same rate as knowledge of Castilian by reason of the cognitive development of the individual and his or her accumulation of experience, but its lesser acquisition in relation to the person's mother tongue does not appear to undergo any change; the same can be said to apply, in general terms, to the Catalan group as a whole (Table 225).

However, where there definitely are changes is in the results obtained in the various interest-centres or themes in which word-naming tests were carried out. The topics most closely related to ambits of linguistic usage in which the mother tongue of immigrant persons, viz. Castilian, dominates, such as Nos. 1 and 2 ("Food and drink" and "The kitchen and dining room") with the family scenario, exhibit average coefficients of bilinguality with a greater command of Castilian (-.16 and -.17 respectively) than do the rest of the themes. Interest-centres Nos. 3 and 4 ("The street" and "The school or institute"), which correspond to areas of social activity in which Catalan figures more, also produce a result showing Castilian linguistic dominance but to a lesser extent than in Nos. 1 and 2 (-.11 and -.13 respectively). Topic Nº 5 ("Games, sports and amusements"), relating to recreational activities, the field in

which the use of Catalan is more common, provides the only case of Catalan linguistic dominance (+.01). Topic Nº 6, on ("The human body"), chosen for its apparent neutrality in its relation to social domains gives a coefficient of -.01 as the average result, which is very near to a balanced bilinguality in this semantic centre.

The results obtained by the Catalan component in these same interest-centres - let it be remembered that they are probably affected by having been written answers - also similarly show the influence of the contexts. Thus, the highest average coefficients for dominance of Castilian are precisely those recorded for interest-centres Nos. 3 and 4 ("The street" and "The school or institute"), which relate to the ambits wherein there is most contact with second generation immigrant individuals or, generally speaking, with Castilian. The highest coefficients for Catalan, on the other hand, are those in interest-centre Nº 5 ("Games, sports and amusements"), corresponding to the area of recreational activities, in which Catalan is present to a great extent, (+.07) and to the theoretically neutral theme Nº 6, ("The human body") (+.11) (Table 226).

Everything appears to indicate therefore that the variation of the bilinguality of individuals depends on the experience resulting from the diverse linguistic usage which may occur in the different ambits of their social sphere. Their greater or lesser proficiency in one language or the other, at least as regards the specific aspect of their lexical knowledge, is not uniform in all fields but varies from theme to theme depending on the surroundings and linguistic usage of each individual.

Close examination of the linguistic output produced by individuals when answering the word-naming tests continually revealed the presence of numerous interferences in their exercises. The occurrence of Castilian words in tests relating to Catalan certainly appeared to be considerable, mainly in the case of the younger subjects. On analyzing the samples of words which we had obtained, observing the criteria cited in Chapter I, we calculated one index for the interference recorded in the tests in Catalan and another for that found in the exercises in Castilian.

The average of the coefficients calculated for each person in the total immigrant component and his interference in Catalan is .137, which can be translated as being 13.7% Castilian words cropping up in exercises supposed to be in Catalan. The overall average in the tests carried out in Castilian, by contrast, shows the presence of only 0.7% Catalan words. The phenomenon of interference is thus confirmed, but much more on Catalan than on Castilian, i.e. of the person's first language on the second, a result which is totally consistent with the reality of the predominance of Castilian in the context and linguistic use of the subjects questioned.

Thus, in contrast with the bilinguality coefficient, where no differences are to be seen between the various age and school level sub-groups, the index of interference in Catalan varies noticeably from group to group. The degree of incidence of Castilian in exercises in Catalan decreases with the rise in age of the subject from the 17% recorded in the sub-group of 9-10 year olds to the 8% found in the adolescent group. Its evolution would therefore seem to be in inverse ratio to the growth of the individual (Table 225).

Comparison of the results of interference in Catalan obtained from the immigrant component with those of the host group, enables us to confirm that, in the case of the first it is very probably a phenomenon of influence of the mother tongue on the second language caused by poorer command of the latter (Dulay, 1982). The Catalan-origin ensemble also shows an index of interference of Castilian on Catalan, but to an appreciably less degree (5%) and without any variation throughout the three age groups. In this case them, Castilian words present in the Catalan exercises to which the host component were submitted correspond to a type of interference which could be described as "consolidated", that is, closer to the traditional concept of the linguistic loan, a permanent, constant interference surely produced by the extensive pressure of Castilian on the Catalan community from schools, local administration and the mass media, and not by the influence which proficiency in the second language has over the mother tongue, as occurs in the case of the immigrant group (Table 225).

The interference of Castilian in the Catalan of the immigrant group oscillates from one interest-centre to another, but by no means with the intensity and clearness that the coefficients of bilinguality varied. Perhaps the most noteworthy result is the lesser extent of interference recorded for interest-centre Nº 4 ("The school or institute"), which at 9% is the lowest of all the exercises. Interference in the remaining themes oscillates between 13% and 17%. In the case of the Catalan group, the average coefficients per interest-centre display no particularly marked fluctuation (Table 226).

Although of less preponderance, the coefficients of interference in the Castilian of the host component merit attention. Their overall average is 2% as opposed to the 0.7% corresponding to the immigrant-origin group. Just as occurred in the case of interference of Castilian in the Catalan of the immigrants, the number of Catalan words recorded in the exercises in Castilian to which the host component was submitted, slowly falls off as the age of the individual increases. In this case also, it is a question of the influence of the first language on the second, which would seem to suggest the hypothesis that as the individual ages the interference of the mother tongue in the second tends to diminish in situations of constant and co-territorial linguistic contact (Table 225) such as we have studied.

In interest-centres, the interference of Catalan in the Castilian of the host component also seems to delineate a separation between the results in domains in which the presence of Catalan is greater and ambits in which that language exerts less pressure. Thus, interest-centres Nos. 1 and 2 ("Food and drink" and "The kitchen and dining room"), topics more closely related to the family background where generally only Catalan is used, exhibit a slightly above-average interference coefficient of Catalan on Castilian, in the same way as occurs in the case of topic Nº 4 ("The school or institute").

As the analysis of data regarding linguistic exposure of the Catalan-origin component - only introduced into the present study for purposes of comparison - is not yet available, it is impossible for us to know at this moment whether the result of interference in topic Nº 4 runs parallel with the school context in which this group moves, although it would not be extravagant to think of a majority exposure to Catalan in the class-group, if we consider the high percentage of concentration of immigrants - which signifies total lack of contact with Catalans - in this same linguistic ambit. The other interest centres either display an average interference index in Castilian equal to the overall result (e.g. "The human body") or else below it (e.g. "The Street" and "Games, Sports and Amusements"). In the case of Nº 3, "The Street", interference appears to be consistent with the linguistic context of the area, where individuals of the two groups in question come together and, therefore, where Castilian pressure exists, which would reduce the interferences of their first language in this particular theme. On the other hand, topic Nº 5, relating to the area of recreational activities, does not seem to follow this logical line, given that, as we have seen earlier herein, for the immigrants it was an ambit in which Catalan was present and yet in the host group the interference of Catalan on Castilian is low (Table 226).

What does appear to be well established, from comparison of the results obtained by both groups in the phenomenon of interference, is the divergence of their results, both globally and in the age sub-levels, and also both in the case of interference in Catalan as well as the majority of indices of interference in Castilian. From the point of view of "consolidated" or integrated interference in the linguistic system of the community analyzed, the contribution of Castilian to Catalan is much higher that that of the latter to the former which, consequently, reflects the difference in influential forces between the two languages on a general level. As for the case of interference due to a lower standard of competence in the second language - probably produced by having had less experience in its use - the influence of Castilian on the Catalan of the immigrants is considerably greater than that of Catalan on the Castilian of the hosts. These results very probably also indicate the correlation of influential forces which existed between the two languages up to the first quarter of 1984 in the locality studied.

6. Conclusion

In ending this chapter we can say that, as a whole, persons of second generation immigrant origin whom we are analyzing, monolingual in Castilian in their home surroundings, are exposed in general to Catalan in the social medium in which they grow up, but to a lesser degree than to Castilian. Their social contacts then are more constantly with members of their own group than with persons of Catalan origin. Moreover, in whatever relations they establish with the host community, any stimulus which might have been created to use Catalan in these interactions tends to disappear because of the norm - almost generally observed - of the indigenous group of addressing itself in Castilian to persons of immigrant origin. In these circumstances, their overall linguistic behaviour is characterized by a much more frequent use of Castilian than of Catalan, to the extent that the proportion of those never using the language of the host community at all even reaches the figure of almost 40%.

With regard to linguistic competence, while the immigrant group has developed its receptive mechanisms this is only so to a much lesser extent however as regards their expressive skills, a result again entirely consistent with their linguistic exposure and behaviour. Consequently, Castilian generally predominates over Catalan in their utilizable proficiency, an interconnection which does not seem to vary with age, but which certainly fluctuates in accordance with the individual's experience in the social milieu and depending on the theme on which the subject expresses himself or herself. In addition, the whole conglomerate studied displays a marked interference of Castilian in their Catalan, mainly in the younger groups, which tends to diminish as the individual grows up. This phenomenon appears to form part of a general process of separation of the languages of the bilingual person in inverse ratio to his or her age, since it also occurs in the case of the host group, but with the order of the language reversed.

Although in the main they may have been born in Catalonia, for the greater part of the group questioned, Castilian, as well as being their first language, is the more dominant language in their general context and in their overall linguistic behaviour.

C H A P T E R I I I

THE RELATION BETWEEN LINGUISTIC COMPETENCE AND LINGUISTIC CONTEXT AND BEHAVIOUR

Having described the results obtained from the questionnaire and the word-naming exercises, we shall proceed to analyze their internal relationships in accordance with the hypotheses indicated in Chapter I.

In the present chapter we shall deal specifically with hypotheses 2 and 3, that is, the relation between context and competence and that between competence and behaviour, and always from the point of view of the acquisition of the immigrant group's second language, viz. Catalan.

Given that the possibility of using the data obtained from our research for analyzing statistically the correlations between them depends on the degree of variation existing in each variable, there remain two dimensions - receptive competence and the degree of interference in Castilian - which cannot be dealt with in this way, since they are dimensions which did not constitute in their results a sufficiently different and varied reality. Even so, we shall keep this chapter divided into two distinct sections, receptive skill and expressive skill, taking into account the importance of the distinction between those two aspects of linguistic proficiency in any language, understanding it and/or speaking it.

Consequently, competence was assessed for the statistical calculation of correlation through the individual's ability to know how to speak in Catalan (ASCT), his or her level of colloquial fluency of that language (COL), coefficient of bilinguality - proportionate knowledge of the two languages in question on the part of the same individual - (CB) and degree of interference in Catalan (DICT).

For its part, linguistic context is measured by the objective demographic data and by the replies referring to spectator exposure and interlocutory exposure in the various ambits listed in the previous chapter. Linguistic behaviour can be measured in the same way from data already described deriving from the questionnaire.

1. Receptive Competence

It is generally accepted that ability to translate a language is attained prior to and, in part, independently from

the ability to express oneself in that language (Weinreich, 1968; Mackey, 1975b; Dulay, 1982; Oksaar, 1983). In general, any person who wants to express himself or herself in a language will have to know how to understand it beforehand. It is not just a question however of two different stages in the same lineal advance in the knowledge of a specific language. Even when a very high level of understanding in that language had been achieved, this would not in any way signify the automatic certainty of having obtained any degree of fluency in oral expression. The two skills belong then to different mechanisms of development, which does not mean however that they are totally independent of each other, since, generally speaking, the acquisition of expressive proficiency presupposes the possession of some grade of understanding of the language in question.

In the acquisition of this linguistic comprehension - whether it be of the mother tongue or some other language - it is the context, through the presence of other persons or of messages transmitted by the mass media, mainly audio-visual, which provides the necessary motivation and perception for putting to use this linguistic capacity (Titone, 1964). The meanings, forms and structures are the product of the individual's experience (Mackey, 1982). Linguistic usage in the environment obliges a person to keep limiting his or her ideas on the meaning of the elements in a language until he or she arrives at the meaning attributed to them by others with whom contact is made (Oksaar, 1983).

In the specific case under study, exposure of the immigrant - origin group to the language of the host group in the social context, albeit in lesser dosage than that experienced with Castilian, has made possible for them, it may be reasonably presumed, the receptive acquisition of Catalan through its use by Catalan speakers in situations in which there exists a real and live social relationship. In this medium, individuals who at the outset were Castilian monolinguals have most of the time had at their disposal a substantial volume of extra-linguistic elements of extreme usefulness to them in developing an understanding of phrases uttered in Catalan in their vicinity. Not only have they been able to observe conversational exchanges visually, thereby readily comprehending the referential elements of the scene and the gestures of the speakers, but they have also been able to determine without difficulty the thematic contextualization of the conversation depending on the ambit in which it took place, the roles played by those engaged in the conversation, etc.. In many aspects then, this learning how to understand Catalan through the social environment, has very probably been similar to the process of receptive acquisition of the individual's mother tongue.

In this sense, it must be emphasized that the acquisition of understanding is in all probability not achieved solely through interlocutions experienced by the person in the language

in question, but also through the interactions at which he or she has been present merely as a spectator. This is what the Catalan situation appears to suggest, if we take into account the difference between the numbers of those messages which individuals pick up from interactions taking place in their vicinity and of those which are addressed directly to the individual who is learning (see Table 216). Given the possibility and the recurring fact that the Catalan-origin population also uses Castilian instead of Catalan in conversations with immigrants or their descendants, it seems reasonable to suppose that a considerable part of receptive knowledge acquired in Catalan comes from observing interactions between Catalans which occur each day in the individual's environment. In the same way as when the message is directly uttered for their attention, monolingual Castilian speakers have at their disposal all the elements of the natural context to enable them to understand phrases in Catalan in other people's conversations.

Thus, to hear and observe the interaction between the shopkeeper and the customer who happens to be attended to before the person of immigrant origin, or the conversation between the schoolteacher and the pupil alongside him, will in all probability be an important source of linguistic learning, even though the shopkeeper and the teacher may subsequently speak in Castilian to the second generation immigrant.

Learning by spectator exposure, a phenomenon hardly dealt with in studies on linguistic acquisition is, however, on record in some cases of receptive learning by children exposed in the family to a language different from that which their parents generally use in speaking to them (Elliot, 1981; Fantini, 1982). Moreover, if we accept the fact that the learning of languages is influenced by television (Ardanaz, 1975; Ryu, 1977; Smith, 1983; Siguan, 1984) and the theatre (Kelly, 1969b), it seems logical to accept the important influence of the immediate context. The readily observed example of first generation immigrants in the same town, where many of them, if not the majority, understand Catalan without having had any form of scholastic instruction in that language and where many Catalans generally speak to them in Castilian, would also seem to confirm our reasoning in this regard.

The presence of Catalan in the social context, innaddition to the opportunity to learn which it constitutes, offers strong stimuli for its acquisition. The necessity or the enormous curiosity to understand communicative messages circulating around the individual, whether or not they be addressed to him or her personally, seems to be a motivation of great importance in developing receptive proficiency in the language of the host group. This assertion would seem to be confirmed by the evident tension which the majority of adult immigrants are under for the first few months after arriving in Catalonia and setting up home in an environment in which Catalan is used. This tension is definitely caused by inability to understand that language when

it is used by Catalan speakers to communicate with each other, a situation which is felt by the recent arrivals to be distinctly uncomfortable and unpleasant. A similar sensation is very probably produced when the second generation individual first comes into contact with the social medium outside the family, in which Catalan is found. It could also be that this feeling is accentuated by the child's natural sense of intrigue and curiosity when faced with the use of a language different from its own (Fantini, 1982).

Consequently, the linguistic context of the second generation immigrant studied satisfies, as far as receptive competence in Catalan is concerned, the two major prerequisites for the learning of a language, viz. opportunity and motivation. It seems perfectly logical therefore to accept as a fact the influence which linguistic exposures of the individual to a specific language exert on the development of his or her understanding of that tongue.

With regard to the possible relation between receptive competence and linguistic behaviour, that is to say, between a greater understanding of Catalan and increased use of it, there dose not appear to be any logical cause and effect influence between the two terms in either of the two possible directions. Nor does an increase in the understanding of this second language appear to imply directly a greater use of Catalan by the second generation immigrant - as is shown by our results and those of other more general studies (Generalitat, 1983 and 1984; SEDEC, 1983) - nor again is it probable that the growth of receptive proficiency in Catalan depends on the use which the individual makes of that language.

Development of an understanding of Catalan will consequently be much more closely related to context than to behaviour. In all probability, though, it will maintain a relation of dependence with the former, since it is impossible to conceive of a person acquiring receptive ability in any language without being exposed to it in some way or other. By contrast, its relation with the linguistic usage of the individual will at all events be solely indirect, through the contribution of a certain basic knowledge of the language in question, a fact which will enable the individual to use or not use that language.

Apart from the direct influence which context exerts, another factor which almost certainly plays an important part in the speed with which receptive proficiency in Catalan is acquired by immigrant-origin persons is the similarity of much of the linguistic structure of this second language with that of Castilian. Originating from the same Latin roots, their phonetic, grammatical and lexical components show a remarkable degree of resemblance although, however, this does not signify the existence of general and immediate inter-comprehension. As in the case then of other related languages, the fact that the two languages are not that far apart linguistically presumably has a

positive effect on accelerating the development of an understanding of the language concerned by speakers of the other language (Mackey, 1976).

Another important extra-contextual element making for the success of this process of receptive acquisition of Catalan is the fact, also to be found in the situation studied, that the persons are of an early age when they start to learn in this way. The great majority of those questioned were born in Catalonia or had arrived there at a tender age (see Table 206), which constitutes an optimum situation from the point of view of the subject's capacity to learn languages (Dulay, 1982).

With these conditions of linguistic similarity to the mother tongue of the immigrant and of contact when very young, it is the exposures to Catalan, principally in their own social medium and also, to a lesser extent, through the formal syllabuses of the educational system, which is consequently the factor that seems to have produced the general acquisition of an adequate receptive competence in the language of the autochthonous group by the offspring of non-Catalan parents (Table 223).

2. Expressive Competence

In line with what we have already indicated at the beginning of the chapter, expressive ability, contrary to receptive ability, certainly encounters sufficient variation in several of the variables governing it to enable in this case its relation with context and behaviour to be statistically analyzed.

The first of these variables, comprising expressive ability, with reference to the capacity to speak in Catalan (ASCT), shows, in general, statistically significant correlations with both social context (excluding the mass media) and linguistic behaviour, which appears to confirm the two hypotheses set out in Chapter I. The extent of these relationships, however, varies according to the dimension in question. In this case, behaviour tends to show higher and more constant correlation coefficients with ASCT than those produced by the dimensions of social context. At the same time, within the context, interlocutory exposure also tends to show a stronger relation to ASCT than does spectator exposure. In other words, the extent of the capacity to express oneself in Catalan varies to a greater degree with the use made of that language by the persons questioned and with the interlocutory exposure that they receive from it than it does with simply listening to and observing the interactions produced in that tongue (Tables 301 and 305).

A similar tendency is also seen in the statistical analyses of these same relationships of social context and behaviour with the degree of colloquial fluency of Catalan

(COL), i.e. with the level of development and the adoption of expressive use of this second language by subjects of immigrant origin. In the same way in this instance, and even more markedly, the dimensions which refer to the actual use of Catalan and the interlocutory exposure received in that language, are those that exhibit higher correlations with COL, a fact also confirmed by the results of the multiple regressions (Table 302, 305 and 306).

The coefficient of bilinguality (CB), which refers to linguistic proficiency in the form dominance of one language over the other in the utilizable knowledge of the individual, shows similar tendencies in its relationships with context and behaviour to those already indicated for ASCT and COL. Its most significant and constant correlations are recorded, as in the two previous cases, with the variables behaviour and interlocutory exposure; its correlations with spectator exposure seem to be of lesser importance (Tables 303 and 305).

As for the degree of interference recorded in Catalan (DICT) and its relation to social context and linguistic behaviour, statistically significant coefficients are also recorded but, by contrast, in the reverse and negative sense. Thus, the degree of interference in Catalan is reduced as the presence of the other correlated variables increases, a perfectly logical result which corresponds to the actual situation. Another characteristic divergent from what we have been commenting on up to now in referring to the earlier assessments of linguistic competence is that in the case of DICT the dimension which displays the highest and most convincing correlation coefficients is spectator exposure and not behaviour or interlocutory exposure; this is additionally confirmed by the results of multiple regressions (Tables 304, 305 and 306).

There seems to be no doubt, therefore, about the existence, in general, of the relationship between expressive ability, social context and linguistic behaviour, even when certain variations of degree are to be seen according to the ambit or between the different age/school course levels.

Comparing the statistical results of each of the global dimensions used in the analysis of correlations and multiple regressions which we have just set out, two major points stand out: first, the greater degree of correlation between all the indicators of expressive capability, except for DICT, and behaviour and interlocutory exposure and, secondly, the greater degree of coexistence, by contrast, between the extent of interference in Catalan (DICT) and spectator exposure.

While in the case of DICT the cause and effect relation appears clear between a greater input of Catalan in the individual's surroundings and a lower degree of interference of the individual's first language in his or her second language, determining the direction of the influence between the other

indices of expressive competence and behaviour and interlocutory exposure appears to be more complex.

It is not illogical to think that greater knowledge of and fluency in Catalan has an influence on a more extensive use of that language in the social context, although this use of the second language would probably also depend on other factors, in particular meeting the most fitting people to exchange speech with, the norms of linguistic usage, etc. In fact, as we shall see in the next chapter, it is very likely for the relation thus constituted to reveal itself at some stage of the process we are studying. However, given that our objective is to study the process of mastering a language and not a situation in which consolidated knowledge of the language exists, it seems more appropriate to think on opposite lines. That is to say, it is a question of the influence which the degree of use of a language exerts on the level of expressive facility acquired in it. We start then from the fact that at the beginning of a process of bilingualization and with the individual already possessing sufficient receptive ability, it will not be a lesser or greater degree of expressive automatism which explains the lesser or greater use of the second language, but rather the reverse.

To be more precise, the assertion that expressive linguistic skill, mainly in its aspects of fluency and automatism, can only be developed provided that actual use of the language in question, i.e. putting it into constant practice, constitutes the most significant difference from the process of acquiring receptive proficiency. Comprehension is exercised every time the individual tries to understand a message formulated, in this case, in Catalan, but the practice necessary for acquiring and developing expressive automatisms is only obtained each time the person of immigrant origin expresses himself or herself in his or her second language.

Very probably the existence of a statistically significant relation between the linguistic proficiency indices most representative of fluency in oral expression in Catalan and the degree of actual use of that language explains the present difference between the levels of receptive and expressive knowledge of Catalan displayed by the second generation immigrant in the greater part of Catalonia. If it is the case that only practice in speaking Catalan can produce acquisition of this capacity, the poor results evidenced by this group in this aspect of linguistic behaviour explain their low level of expressive competence.

Nor does it seem to be difficult to account for the parallelism discernible in the results of the correlations for interlocutory exposure and linguistic behaviour. In all probability, their similar results are due to their involvement in an identical state of affairs, that is to say, very frequently being the two sides of the phenomenon of social interaction. Even when we have fitted interlocutory exposure into the frame

of the context as being an input received by the individual, the use of one or other language in messages addressed to him or her by others can be perfectly well regulated, as occurs in the Catalan situation, by the language in which he or she chooses to reply to the speaker. Again, the marked correlation existing between the variables expressive proficiency and spectator exposure probably stems indirectly from the inevitable influence that the presence or absence of Catalans speaking to them in the various social ambits has on the use or non-use of Catalan by subjects of immigrant origin (see Chapter IV).

Contrary to the results obtained in the other indicators of expressive ability, as indicated earlier, those recorded in the case of interference in Catalan show not linguistic behaviour but spectator exposure as having the greater influence. Although logical enough, it is nevertheless at first sight an unexpected result, and one which is very probably related to the intricate paths along which receptive competence influences the expressive mechanisms. Regulation of the degree of interference which the immigrant group exhibits in its utterances in Catalan does not appear to depend on their greater or lesser use of that language, but rather on the extent of their contact with it through linguistic exposures in the various areas of social activity; this is the opposite of what occurs in the case of those other variables referred to. Consequently, interference of Castilian on Catalan in the immigrant group appears to be due more to the exercise of receptive ability and of cognitive factors consistent with the subject's age than to practice in speaking Catalan.

As regards the other component of the global linguistic context, the mass media, these do not, in general, achieve degrees of significant correlation with the variables of linguistic proficiency. The coefficients corresponding to the degree of tuning in to Catalan television programmes in relation to COL and those recorded by the written media with the degree of interference in Catalan (reverse), and with ASCT and COL, can only be stressed to a minimal degree.

The existence of significative inverse co-variation between the DICT and the level of incidence of Catalan in the individual's reading activity (Table 307) can be perfectly well explained, in the same way as in the case of oral exposures, by the logical influence that a greater degree of reading in Catalan exerts on the reduction of interferences in using that language. However, as regards the relation existing between these same written media and ASCT and COL, variables more identified with the mechanisms of expressive ability, it is difficult to accept that a greater degree of reading in Catalan intervenes directly in achieving a greater overall expressive proficiency in that language, if we take into account our earlier conclusion that actual oral use of a language is necessary if expressive automatisms are to be developed. It would seem more plausible to suppose that enhanced proficiency

in self-expression in Catalan has a positive influence on the concurrent increase of voluntary reading activity in that language, given that the individual with high oral competence would have already been transformed into an expressive bilingual and would very possible react, depending on his or her social context, by assimilating his or her reading habits in those of the indigenous population.

With regard to the statistically significative relationship between the degree of exposure to television in Catalan and the level of colloquial fluency (COL) in that language (Table 307), we find ourselves facing a situation identical to, or at least resembling, that which we have just been commenting on in respect of written media. Even when in this case it is a question of oral linguistic input, it still seems improbable that listening to programmes in Catalan to a greater extent must directly result in an increased level of colloquialization in that language, given the dependence of expressive mechanisms on actual social communicative practice. Greater exposure to Catalan through television can certainly result in increased receptive proficiency in that language but much less probably, on the other hand, in improved expressive ability. It seems much more logical, therefore, to think in terms of a direct or indirect influence exerted by the individual's level of competence in speaking Catalan on tuning in voluntary to a greater number of programmes in that tongue, a fact presumably caused in its initial phase by more pronounced identification on the part of the expressive bilingual person with the selective habits of the host population, where a choice of programmes in either language is involved.

3. Conclusion

The results of tests for statistical correlation between expressive linguistic competence, the social context and linguistic behaviour reveal the existence of a significant relation between these three dimensions. Behaviour produces higher correlation coefficients than those of context in the case of the indices most representative of the subject's facility for expressing himself or herself in Catalan while context, through spectator exposure, surpasses behaviour in the magnitude of the inverse relation to the degree of interference.

It would again seem logical to infer from these results that development of expressive competence in Catalan and specifically of oral automatisms, is a function of the actual use of that language by second generation immigrant-origin persons. In contrast, the acquiring of understanding, as well as the degree of interference in Catalan, are very probably directly attributable to spectator exposures to that language received in the global linguistic context.

C H A P T E R I V

THE RELATION BETWEEN LINGUISTIC BEHAVIOUR AND CONTEXT

Linguistic behaviour, fundamental for the development of expressive capacity in a language as we concluded in the previous chapter, does not have linguistic factors as its basic causes but rather factors of a social nature. It is the need of the subject to communicate with those around him which essentially regulates the use and, therefore, the acquisition of capacities of oral expression, although in a bilingual situation other factors may intervene in the selection of the language to use. In any event, the actual reasons which will decide the use of one or other language are reasons originating prior to and independently of his own individual reasons (Siguan, 1976).

We shall examine in this chapter the relation between linguistic usage - Catalan and/or Castilian - and context of second generation immigrants in the locality researched. Context is operatively defined by the degree of incidence of population of one or other origin surrounding the individual - sometimes expressed by the actual population figures or in terms of the linguistic consequences of this incidence - by the language of schooling and by the communication media. Linguistic behaviour consists of the use which the individual makes of each language in relevant areas of social activity.

Statistical analysis of the correlation between the variables of one or other dimension reveals the existence of significant concomitance between behaviour and context. The composition of the population in the residential district, in terms of origin, and particularly the make-up of the class/group, maintain a direct correlation with the scale of overall behaviour. Thus, the greater the number of Catalan-origin persons around the immigrant individual the more extensive is his or her use of Catalan. Exactly the same occurs between the global scale of spectator exposure, i.e. the extent to which individuals hear Catalan spoken around them, and overall behaviour, as well as in the relation of these two dimensions in the various ambits analyzed. Interlocutory exposure, a form of measurement representing messages addressed directly to the individual, also varies markedly with behaviour, both at the level of global scales and from domain to domain (Table 401).

A characteristic of the results by age/school level sub-group is the differences recorded, principally between the sub-groups at both extremes. The overall linguistic behaviour of the adolescent sub-group, contrary to that of the 9-10 year olds and often also divergent from that of the 12-13 years olds, tends to

have a marked correlation with the variables of the context. The same happens with the make-up of the neighbourhood and the class-group, the global scale of spectator exposure and the language in which the individual is taught at school but, on the other hand, not with the global scale of interlocutory exposure.

These differences also repeat themselves from ambit to ambit. The composition of the neighbourhood shows no significative correlation with behaviour in this same area in the case of the 15-16 years sub-group, yet does so in the case of the other two sub-groups. The adolescent sub-group also shows a lower coefficient than the others in the relation of the make-up of the class-group to its linguistic usage in that ambit and between spectator exposure and behaviour in recreational activities and in groups of friends, although in this last case the difference is not so marked. This same sub-group also exhibits a lesser correlation than the others between the language in which it is taught at school and its linguistic usage with teachers.

It would seem that the existence, in general, of significative correlation between context and behaviour and, more specifically, between the incidence of autochthonous population in the immigrants' surroundings and the degree of use which immigrants make of Catalan, can be interpreted in the sense that linguistic behaviour in Catalan and/or Castilian is a function of the first dimension.

The probable explanation of this relationship between the degree of the use of Catalan and the composition of ambits is that the presence of Catalans is absolutely necessary for immigrants to use Catalan spontaneously in any social area. Given that the component of immigrant origin almost always appears to use Castilian in its intragroup relations - as occurs with Catalan in the case of Catalans - a fundamental condition for their using the second language is for them to be in contact with speakers of the indigenous tongue.

Nevertheless, this condition of having to meet Catalans being necessary for the spontaneous social use of the host group's language does not wholly account for the linguistic behaviour of immigrants. Given that they are in contact with an indigenous population capable, in general, of understanding and speaking Castilian, the mother tongue of subjects of immigrant origin, the mere fact of meeting Catalans does not signify that Catalan is used in the resultant interactions. In fact, in the majority of cases, as is shown by the differences between the correlation indices for interlocutory and spectator exposures, inter-group conversations tend to be conducted more in Castilian than in Catalan.

Generally speaking, once contact has been established with members of the host community, it would seem that persons of immigrant origin tend to use Catalan more when there are more

Catalan origin individuals present than when they find themselves in an environment in which the presence of subjects of both immigrant and Catalan origin is more equally balanced. In the first case, the percentage of persons using Catalan or Catalan/Castilian to communicate within the ambit is around 60%, while in the case of heterogeneously composed circles the figure drops to 40/45%. Consequently, the use of their second language is not only regulated by the presence or absence of Catalans in the respective social domains, but rather by their proportion in relation to the number of immigrants present (Tables 402 and 403).

The adaptation of the second generation immigrant-origin individual to the linguistic pressure of the context, notwithstanding the norm, observed by the majority of adults, which customarily dictates the use of Castilian in conversational exchanges between the two linguistic groups, seems to be explained then not by reasons of simple communication but rather by reasons of identification induced by social control (Haugen, 1964; Esteva, 1977; D'Anglejan, 1983). Very probably, the use of Catalan by immigrants, above all in the first stage of acquiring their second language, relates to the need to homogenize their linguistic behaviour with that of their companions, that is to say, to integrate themselves socially with the other persons present in a specific ambit. As the composition of the area becomes more Catalan, that is, when there are more indigenous persons present than immigrants, so the latter will experience a greater need to adapt themselves to the environment and will therefore have more motivation to begin to speak Catalan, basing themselves initially on the receptive proficiency they have already attained.

The differences observed between the various age sub-groups, and principally between the sub-groups at each end of the age range, in the correlations between behaviour and spectator exposure or the demographic composition in the neighbourhood and the class-group, suggest that the need to adapt his or her linguistic behaviour to the particular environment decreases as the individual grows up. In spite of the fact that the adolescent sub-group generally shows greater exposure to social contexts with more Catalan presence, their behaviour does not adapt itself to this fact and therefore produces less correlation between the two dimensions in comparison with that which the other sub-groups achieve. This phenomenon seems to indicate that, in agreement with Ervin-Tripp (1969), the need for social support is much more important for children than for other persons; for this reason it is possible that a child's choice of linguistic variety depends more on the social environment than is the case with adults. The need, generally subconscious (Bourhis, 1984), to be like one's companions, including linguistically, could diminish with the passage of time.

From another point of view, an element which should also help to explain the differences between the sub-groups is the

varying ages at which they began to receive input of Catalan through the educational system. The remarkably divergent results of the correlations between the language of instruction and behaviour with the schoolteacher in the 9-10 years and the adolescent sub-groups would seem to confirm this hypothesis. The reasons, as we have indicated, are probably to be found in the difference in age of the subjects at the moment they started to receive exposure to Catalan through the medium of the school system. While persons of 9-10 years/4th Grade EGB began their schooling at a time when Catalan was being reintroduced into the school system, those in the 15-16 years sub-group were around 10 to 11 years of age before they began to receive Catalan to any significant degree from their teachers.

A probable consequence of this early exposure to Catalan is that children start to develop an expressive ability in an age-period particularly appropriate for learning languages and, moreover, for increasing the use of Catalan in communicating with fellow-pupils of Catalan origin in the classroom, particularly if the pressure of Catalan in the school system is greater than that of Castilian. This last factor, then, presumably contributes to the rise in the index of linguistic convergency towards Catalan in the intergroup interaction, so that the individual of immigrant origin, who from the beginning becomes accustomed to speaking in Catalan to Catalan subjects in the classroom, will have daily opportunities to practise it and to attain a significant degree of colloquial fluency in his second language. The fluency acquired in Catalan and the habit of using it with members of the host community in the classroom and with their teachers will in all probability encourage subjects to use it as well in other ambits with people who identify themselves as Catalan-speaking. This result would seem to be confirmed by the increase in general of the correlations of behaviour with spectator exposure at the lower age. That is to say, the fact that persons in the 9-10 years sub-group and also in the 12-13 years sub-group observe a linguistic behaviour more in accordance with the composition of the domain than do the 15-16 year old subjects, could also be accounted for by their greater fluency in Catalan resulting from using that language in school. This permits the younger sub-groups to speak more in Catalan in accordance with the composition of the areas.

The age at which the individual is stimulated, whether through social context or a hierarchical activity such as schooling, would appear then to be a crucial variable of any process of bilingualization, and still more so in the case of linguistic groups coming into contact, one of which in general tends more to have a prior knowledge of the language of the other. Consequently, it would seem that we can conclude that the earlier the immigrant individual comes into stimulative contact with Catalan, the more he or she will acquire both receptive and expressive competence, an assertion which has already been confirmed by the first studies made on the last mass immigrations into Catalonia (Maluquer, 1963). In accordance also with

the most recent international bibliography on the subject, puberty seems to be critical point for acquiring expressive proficiency in a second language, in this case Catalan. Although general agreement resides principally in the phonetic aspect of languages, as being an important difficulty once a person is over 10-12 years old (Mackey, 1983; Oksaar, 1983; Dulay, 1982), in the situation examined herein, with no linguistic barrier to prevent communication in Castilian in his or her surroundings, the total use itself of the second language seems to be affected.

Individuals, then, exposed to Catalan in social situations in which that linguistic group predominates or to schooling in that language at an early age, will benefit from many favourable factors in contrast to those who may only begin to experience these contacts after puberty. While in the case of the former their linguistic habits will not yet have become settled (Bodi, 1980), their linguistic acquisition is largely subconscious (Dulay, 1982) and they will have more cerebral plasticity and verbal curiosity (Tió, 1982), these advantages will be lost or greatly diminished in adolescence. Moreover, the subjects who are already over puberty will not feel themselves so driven to express themselves as they were in childhood; they will no longer feel the need to relate to others through total identification with them (Ervin-Tripp, 1973) and they will experience psychological and social changes that will create a social gulf between them and the host group, in this case Catalan (Schumann, 1975). It can also be presumed that they will take note of the cultural, social and even political implications of the situation (Siguan, 1984) and will develop or modify their attitudes (Strubell, 1981). The first years of schooling therefore seem to be the most decisive for the acquisition of expressive capacity in Catalan by second generation immigrants.

Turning our attention to the results of correlations commented on in this chapter, in the 15-16 years sub-group the intervention of expressive linguistic competence as an independent variable on their linguistic behaviour appears to be clear. Failure to acquire oral expressive automatisms at an earlier age seems to be indicated as the principal cause of their lesser use of Catalan in relation to spectator exposure in those ambits in which they encounter a majority of the host group. It could very well be that if these persons had practised and acquired expressive ability in their second language prior to their exposure to the contexts in which they constantly move, the coefficients obtained between these two variables, spectator exposure and behaviour, would now also be high in the case of this particular sub-group.

These considerations seem to indicate then that the relation between behaviour and expressive linguistic proficiency is not just a situation of cause and effect, in that order. As we have already implied in the previous chapter, although it appears to be true that an indispensable condition for the

developing of expressive ability in Catalan is the practical use of it in the social communicative context, it is no less clear that it is precisely the lack of the development of this expressive facility in Catalan which inhibits immigrants from using it, even when they find themselves in the most favourable contexts to do so. The crucial point of this relation is to be found in the initiation of the use of Catalan, since, as we have seen in the last chapter, without putting it to practical use there can never be any development of expressive capacity. However, the factor which makes a vicious circle out of these two concepts in the process which we are examining, is the actual lack of the need to use Catalan in the context of the immigration group, in view of the general bilingualization in Castilian of the indigenous population. The key then to initiating any process of acquiring an expressive capacity in a language present in the social medium of the individual is the need to use it in personal intercommunication, a specific condition which does not exist in the circumstances of the second generation immigrant in Catalonia. As we have concluded, it would seem that the only factors that influence the initiating of a process to develop expressive competence in the language of the autochthonous population are, firstly, the need for immigrant persons to identify socially when they find themselves in ambits in which Catalans are in the majority, and secondly, the hierarchical pressure exerted by the language used by their school teachers, provided that the individual is affected by these factors before the age of puberty. If these variables are lacking at the crucial moment it will be much more difficult, if not impossible, for subjects to attain an eventual mastery of colloquial fluency of Catalan enabling them to express themselves in that language on a linguistic level approaching that of native Catalans. If, however, in contexts such as their working life or their personal relationships subjects encounter stimuli important enough for them to start using Catalan, their acquisition of expressive proficiency, except perhaps from the phonetic aspect, can reach a high level of similarity to that of the native population and ultimately assure them complete mastery of colloquial usage.

Regarding the other dimension of the context, in the previous chapter we had already indicated the parallel existing between interlocutory exposure and linguistic behaviour, a relation fully confirmed by the results set out herein. In comparison with spectator exposure, interlocutory exposure is generally higher and more stable in its correlation with the linguistic usage of individuals of immigrant origin, which would seem to suggest the general functioning of adaptation on the part of the host population to the language used by the speaker, a phenomenon which, as we have persistently stressed, permits inter-group communication without immigrants needing to use Catalan. On the occasions when the immigrant has not already acquired sufficient verbal practice of Catalan, he or she will address himself or herself in Castilian to all those with whom he or she is in conversation, whether they be of immigrant

origin or Catalan. This monolingual behaviour of the non-Catalan origin individual will in turn generally also produce a reply in Castilian from all those with whom he or she is speaking, whether they be immigrants or hosts. That is to say, the immigrant's linguistic usage, mainly in ambits with no clear Catalan majority, will very probably be that which determines the language in which the inter-group interaction is conducted (Esteva, 1977). Only in the vehicular language of educational instruction does a slightly lesser correlation between the two dimensions seem to be shown, a logical enough result since adaptation by the schoolteacher - who is addressing the class-group generally - to the language which the immigrant may speak consequently constitutes a greater difficulty.

In general, then a phenomenon of linguistic convergence or adaptation of speech is produced (Hamers & Blanc, 1983; Bourhis, 1984), whether it be towards Castilian - more usual up to now - or towards Catalan - probable only if the immigrant already speaks in that language - which may explain the high degree of interrelation between interlocutory exposure and linguistic behaviour. Bilingual conversation, that is to say, use of his or her primary language by each speaker, therefore seems to occur only rarely.

As regards the media, we also have evidence of the existence of a correlation between overall linguistic behaviour and the degree of exposure to television, radio and written matter in Catalan, higher in the case of the third than in the other two media. The cause and effect sequence is not immediately clear. The hypothesis could perfectly well be advanced that as exposure of the individual immigrant to communication media in Catalan increases so proportionately does his or her usage of Catalan in the social context; alternatively, it could also be argued that the more an individual speaks Catalan in his immediate surroundings, the more he or she tends to tune into Catalan radio and television programmes and also to read in that language. It seems difficult to imagine any direct influence by greater exposure to these media in Catalan on the linguistic behaviour of the subject of immigrant origin, in the state of affairs studied. If, and only then with difficulty, social context itself barely succeeds in exerting any influence on the use of the language of the host group, still less will some variables of solely receptive linguistic activity, notwithstanding their great power of persuasion. On the contrary, it seems more realistic to consider the relation as a consequence of the greater use of Catalan. As the individual uses Catalan more in his or her ambits the more marked will be his or her integration into the host group and, in consequence, the similarity of his or her behavioural tendencies towards the media to those of the host group. It should not be forgotten that exposure to specific Catalan radio or television programmes or the reading of Catalan publications are also motivated

actions on the part of the individual, depending on his or her readiness to select such programmes or reading matter (Table 404).

In the course of this chapter we have examined the relationship between context and behaviour. The hypothesis that the latter is a function of the former seems to be proved, but not without qualifications. We can presume that the influence of the social context in which the individual finds himself or herself on the extent of his or her acquisition and use of Catalan is presumably valid, given that the person's contact with the indigenous population is specifically an indispensable condition for such behaviour to become current. However, the possibility of interaction with the host population is a necessary condition, but often an insufficient one in itself, for generating the use of Catalan by immigrants. At the start of the individual's linguistic apprenticeship two other conditions are also required: that the ratio of Catalans to persons of immigrant origin be high in the ambits of social activity in which the latter participate or that the latter be subjected to a hierarchical use of Catalan (the schoolteacher) and, secondly, that this degree of adequate exposure to the second language should occur at an early age, that is to say, not much later than the commencement of obligatory schooling.

Even if these conditions are fulfilled, it may still not be possible to predict that the subject will achieve expressive competence in Catalan - an attainment only made possible through use of that language - since it may well happen that, being able always to communicate in Castilian with the host group, a certain number of immigrants will never regard themselves as obliged to use Catalan to talk to members of the indigenous community. Bilingualization of the host population in Castilian, the mother tongue of the immigrants, therefore produces the absence of any linguistic barrier between the groups in contact, which enormously differentiates the situation analysed herein from those arising from other migratory phenomena to countries speaking a different language.

C H A P T E R V

CONCLUSION

1. Results of the Research

We have analysed the interrelation between linguistic context, behaviour and in the process of the acquisition of the second language - Catalan - by second generation Castilian-speaking immigrants in Vilafranca del Penedès (Barcelona province).

The majority of this population of linguistic immigrants, coming mainly from the southern regions of Spain, arrived in the locality between 1960 and 1975, attracted by the economic growth of Catalonia, which constituted a very different situation from that existing in their zone of origin. Today, these immigrants make up approximately 40% of the population of Vilafranca del Penedès. The majority generally live spread over the new peripheral areas, with 51-75% of the indigenous population living in the neighbourhood, although more than a third of them congregate in specific districts in which they outnumber Catalans. Overall, immigrants tend to have a lesser degree of academic instruction than the Catalans, but in no case is there a radical division by origins in this respect.

Contacts between the two groups, less frequent at the start because of differences of language, culture and custom, seem to show a tendency to become more intensified as the length of time the immigrant has been in the locality increases. At least this would appear to be demonstrated by the progressive increase of mixed marriages, a factor which probably has a moderating effect on the initial volume of the two linguistic groups in the younger population strata. It is our estimation that from there being 60% Catalans in the global population of Vilafranca del Penedès, there has been a drop of 5% to 55% Catalan speakers in the total number of those born between 1969 and 1975, while the proportion of subjects with Castilian as their first language is maintained at 40% and bilingual families now account for 5%.

In the group of the population aged between 9 and 16 years, the majority of individuals of immigrant origin, unlike their parents and grandparents, were born in Catalonia. However, subjects born in a household in which both father and mother are of non-Catalan origin have only received as their first language that of their parents, viz. Castilian. Modern communications media to be found today in the home - principally television - have mainly transmitted to them also in that language.

In accordance with its demographic composition, the majority of these second generation immigrants hear Catalan and Castilian spoken around them in the district in which they live, but rather more than a third generally listen only to Castilian. However, although the majority find themselves surrounded by fellow immigrant-origin persons and Catalans in more or less equal proportions, it is only a third part of the total immigrant-origin group which habitually receives messages in the two languages in the zone where they live, since on finding themselves in the company of members of the population who are also bilingual in Castilian, it is that language which they mostly use in inter-group contacts.

During the course of their primary studies (*Educació General Bàsica* - EGB - General Basic Education for children between 5 and 14 years of age), they find themselves for the most part integrated into class-groups also predominantly of immigrant origin. This situation, in all probability, is brought about by the considerable volume of population of their own group and by the tendency of the host population to use private schools, while individuals of immigrant origin mainly receive their schooling in the public educational system. On the other hand, when they get to secondary education level, the majority of subjects in the institute classroom are of Catalan origin due to the increase resulting from the incorporation of pupils residing outside the regional capital. A result of this structuring of the scholastic population is that in this ambit only half of the individuals are exposed to Catalan or to Catalan / Castilian during E.G.B. through their classmates. In BUP-FP, on the contrary, all immigrant-origin subjects receive one of these two types of linguistic exposure. In the same way as occurs in the residential district, the degree of Catalan which they receive when messages are directly addressed to them is reduced, for the most part equally, throughout all age sub-groups.

Immigrants who participate in organized recreational activities, some two-thirds of the total, tend to find themselves in situations in which the incidence of Catalan is significantly high, although here again they will be addressed more in Castilian.

By contrast, groups of friends are made up in most cases by individuals of the same origin, a norm however, which tends to be less observed in adolescence, in which period they associate more with Catalan subjects. The latter nevertheless also frequently use the first language of immigrants to communicate with friends of such origin.

Overall, about half this stratum has nearly always received school instruction in Castilian, although both younger and older persons in the BUB-FP stage encounter an increase in the incidence of the language of the host community, an increase which has probably been included by the progressive introduction of Catalan into the school system.

In general, attendance in specific social domains having different types of linguistic exposure enables the second generation immigrant group as a whole to have a generalized contact with Catalan in the social environment outside the family, although to a lesser degree than they have with Castilian. However, even when they establish contact with the host population, the messages which they receive from it will tend to be phrases in Castilian rather than Catalan which, together with the notable level of inter-group relations among immigrants, enormously reduces the social pressure which the non-indigenous population might otherwise have undergone.

Consequently, the linguistic behaviour of this second generation of immigrants is in Castilian in almost all domains. Only when students interact with their teachers and in organized recreational activities we can observe that Castilian is being used to a lesser degree. In the whole, they use Castilian to a larger degree than Catalan in their communications with their environment. This is true to the point that 40% of the sample studied do not use the language of the host population in any of the social ambits in which they participate. On the other extreme, there is only a small minority using Catalan to a larger degree than Castilian.

With regards to linguistic competence, it can be said that the whole of the immigrant second generation understands the language of the host population. Nevertheless, only a small part of this group has developped the ability to emit messages in this new code. Castilian has the dominance over Catalan in their bilinguality. This result is different in the same generational stratum of Catalan origin. This group shows -on the contrary- a balanced level of competence in both languages. The knowledge that the immigrant group has of the Catalan language, however, varies according to the themes, probably in the degree of usage of this code in the different domains.

The better knowledge of Castilian than of Catalan among the non-indigenous group is also evident when we observe the important degree of interference that their first language has over the second. This degree of interference is also higher than that of the host group in the same code, and far smaller than the presence of Catalan in their Castilian.

The second generation of linguistic immigrants in Vilafranca is, generally speaking, in a context which can stimulate the receptive acquisition of Catalan but in a lesser extent, the development of expressive competence in that language. The more or less constant presence of Catalan that immigrant persons experience in some ambits of their social life whets their curiosity - frequently in a subconscious manner at an early age - and sets in motion the acquisitive mechanisms governing the understanding of that language. In contrast, bilingualization in Castilian of the host population through its schooling in that language, the very presence of immigrants and the norm it

observes of using Castilian in addressing immigrant-group persons, eliminates any linguistic barrier between the two groups in question and, in general, leaves the non-natives without any motivation for achieving oral proficiency in Catalan.

This lack of any real need to use Catalan results in turn in the subject failing to get the practice in speaking which is indispensable for the development of fluency of expression in that language - the only road to achieving a complete and efficacious expressive competence - so that the very possibility of acquiring this capacity is thereby cut off. In this way, the lack of a facility for speaking Catalan is also converted into a factor of major influence in the linguistic usage of the immigrant subject since, once puberty is over, the effort of starting the practice of expression will become more difficult and inconvenient, so that another reason is added for not using Catalan in the social context. As a consequence of this non-use of Catalan by the immigrant, the use of Castilian by the host population will increase in inter-group conversations, thereby in turn having the effect of consolidating this norm, which will contribute towards impeding immigrants from being stimulated to use Catalan in addressing the indigenous population.

The only persons who escape this vicious circle appear to be those who, before puberty, find themselves immersed in predominantly Catalan ambits and/or have been taught at school in Catalan. In the former case, the stimulus to use Catalan instead of Castilian for addressing individuals of the host group will very probaby be caused by the need to identify socially with the medium, that is, to homogenize their linguistic behaviour with that of their companions in the milieu. In the latter situation, the hierarchical relationship between pupil and teacher will play its part in the person answering in Catalan when spoken to in that language by his or her teachers. The two mechanisms have in common the fact that they set in motion the practice of oral expression in Catalan which, once it has been sufficiently developed, will make it easy for the individual to use Catalan in situations in which he or she considers this to be opportune.

Given that in principle contrary attitudes are not detected (Bastardas, 1985), it is logical to think that the receptively and expressively bilingual immigrant will have no difficulty in using the language of the host group in his or her interactions with persons of that origin, provided that they come into contact and that the latter also speak to them in Catalan. It is important then to bear in mind that, apart from command of the language, the other indispensable requirement for using Catalan is the opportunity to use it, that is, physical contact with the host population. It appears difficult to imagine that in the present circumstances Catalan will be used by immigrants instead of Castilian in their intra-group interactions. Thus the only possibility of immigrants using Catalan

lies in the extent of the personal interactions they have with Catalans. In this sense, the high percentage of immigrant-origin population, which makes for a coexistential self-sufficiency, and the natural tendency for each linguistic group to associate more with members of its own origin than with subjects of the other, are factors which very probably have an influence on impeding the daily use of the language of the host community.

Context, then, shows itself to be the most important of the three elements which we have reviewed in this study. It is this dimension which induces the acquisition of receptive proficiency, which decides whether or not expressive automatisms will be developed and which, in short, controls linguistic usage. Behaviour and competence are subject, in general, to the context, but this does not signify that they are not elements which in specific situations can have an influence on the context itself. For example, non-proficiency in Catalan on the part of immigrants can modify the behaviour of the person addressing them, in the same way as the presence of an immigrant who has not yet attained receptive ability in Catalan can cause Castilian to be used among themselves by a group of Catalans so that he or she can follow the conversation, although this is a situation which, after the immigrant subject has had some years of contact with Catalan, already seems to be occurring with less frequency.

For their part, behaviour and competence are dimensions that can also produce differing cause and effect results, principally at the level of expressive skill. Initially, it appears evident that achieving the sufficient amount of training and consolidation of the mechanisms of oral expression in the language which seeks mastery is only possible in relation to its use in society, which is to say that linguistic proficiency is a function of behaviour. But, looking at the relation between the two in reverse, it is also true that competence will act as an independent variable on behaviour, enabling or not enabling a specific language to be used in a concrete situation if there exists the possibility of using the other language, just as in the case which we have examined.

The results of this research show that there was a sound basis of truth in the conclusions drawn in Chapter I which maintained that bilingualization in Catalan of the earlier second generation of immigrants who arrived in Catalonia before 1960 differed in its results from that of the present second generation descendants of the massive migrations of the 1960 - 1975 era. The assertion, subscribed to in the study of the population of Terrassa (Barcelona province) (1950, 50% Catalans / 50% immigrants) at the beginning of the new migratory waves (Maluquer, 1963) that, starting with the first generation born in Catalonia of immigrant parents, assimilation is complete, would seem already to have ceased to be consistent in general with reality in such places as Vilafranca del Penedès, with 60% Catalans and 40% immigrants. Whereas formerly the mere social

environment was sufficient to result in the large majority if not the whole of the second generation acquiring a complete, native-standard mastery of Catalan, at the present time and specifically in the urban nucleus studied herein, some 40% of this sector of the population does not speak Catalan in any of the domains of social activity which are customarily those of greatest importance at their age (in the case of adolescents the figure increases to 56%). Moreover, only 26% assert that they know how to speak Catalan well (although on the other hand only a very small minority owns to speaking it badly), and only about 14% claim to have a colloquial mastery of Catalan equal to that which they have of their first language.

The situation, then, seems to be different from that produced in many other cases of bilingualization of second generation immigrants, such as Galicians in New York (Gutiérrez, 1971), Norwegians (Haugen, 1953) or Puerto Ricans in general in the United States (Rogler et al., 1980) and Russians (Bodi, 1980) or Italians (Campbell, 1980) in Australia. In these particular instances it is characteristic, although with certain differences in linguistic usage, for second generation immigrants to have generally acquired a fluent knowledge - up to the standard of the native population - of the language of the host country, which is the language they use in their contacts with ambits outside the family or the community of their own origin.

In the case of immigrants in the locality researched, contrary to these other general examples, the group constitutes a considerable percentage of the population in comparison with the indigenous inhabitants, thus assuring them of a significantly numerous representation in most of their zones of social activity - the neighbourhood, the school, or, when of working age, in their place of employment. Moreover, they find themselves in contact with a host community which not only understands their language but politically forms part of a State in which the language of the immigrant group is predominant at the official level and throughout the whole population. These factors, together with the particular conception of the act of migration held by the linguistic immigrant, i.e. that he has only moved from his region of origin but not outside the frontiers of his State, create a radically different situation, in which the need to learn and use the language of the new community is not felt to be vital or indispensable for survival or for integration in the new medium.

As regards, more specifically, second generation individuals - lacking as they do very pronounced views and attitudes at the outset of their socialization -, as long as conditions of demographic equilibrium between the two groups keep recurring at school, and the teaching staff, in marked contrast with what generally occurs in the other cases, still only uses the language of the host country very little - although it is now being used more -, their social context, immersed in that of

adults, again does not help them in acquiring an expressive command of the second language.

2. Limitations of the Present Study and Recommendations for Future Research

The principal limitation of our study on the second generation immigrant is very probably the objective measurement of the bilinguality which, due to the restricted time and means at the disposal of the researcher, had to be carried out in writing. As we have already forewarned the reader, in considering the literal results for the coefficient of bilinguality it should always be taken into account that they derive from tests conducted in writing and not orally. We have seen then the influence exerted by the greater degree of written usage of Castilian common among our subjects as compared with that of Catalan. From the point of view of the correlation of this index with other variables however, its results are certainly valid, since the wide margin between the points recorded by individuals is, in general, attributable to other factors, distinct from whether the exercises were conducted orally or in writing.

We would recommend therefore for future research projects on oral proficiency, that the method of word-naming be oral, insofar as this is possible, in order to obtain measurement figures approximating more nearly to reality in the case of this aspect of expression. However, use of the written method can be perfectly valid in conducting lexical exercises in two languages in which there is an even balance as regards written practice.

The choice of semantic interest-centres for the carrying out of lexical tests has shown itself to be generally sound for the comparison of results with linguistic usage, with the exception of No. 5, ("Games, sports and amusements"). If it were a question then of using this method again, it might be best to seek a better alternative as a theme covering recreational activities.

Another point to be taken into account, this time in connection with answers to the questionnaire relating to the reality of the situation of those in the 9-16 years age sector, is the numerically smaller representation of the BUP-FP group within the total number of examinees. This is due to the elimination of more individuals of this category when finally selecting the whole group to be studied, principally for not meeting the requirement for equality between age / scholastic levels, and because of a higher incidence of absence from classes. In future it is going to be necessary to control this aspect to a greater extent and seek from individuals of this age bracket their full cooperation and firm commitment to participate.

Finally, data deriving from questionnaires are always liable to be influenced by the notions of the individual, which occasionally do not conform with reality. Despite the care and attention devoted to obtaining truthful and correct replies, the resultant figures should always be considered as general tendencies, and not as being mathematically exact.

In addition to the correctives and precautions just indicated, we also believe it is in the interests of a more profound study of this particular line of research to stress how useful it would be in future for further research to be devoted to:

a) Repetition of this study in other Catalan localities, preferably of different demography, in order to determine the various effects of the medium, compare results and confirm or refute the hypotheses advanced herein;

b) Repetition also of the work in populations situated in other linguistic areas of Spain or any other country which have suffered migratory phenomena akin to those in Catalonia, in order to compare the results between situations where a distinct second language and a different general context exists;

c) The study in depth, by ethnographical and naturalist methodology, of the relation between the three dimensions we have analyse, principally when starting school and in environments of inter-group contact, with the aim, moreover, of following the evolution of the situation length-wise; and

d) The simultaneous pursuit of the evolution of the examinees in later stages of their lives, academic and occupational, in order to find out how they have developed and by what factors they have been affected.

3. Final Observations

The present sociolinguistic conditions in this part of Catalonia encourage the host population to be bilingual in Catalan and Castilian at receptive and expressive levels, and an important segment of the immigrant-origin component to be bilingual in Catalan only as regards receptive ability. This perpetuation of the linguistic imbalance between citizens, at a stage when Catalan has recovered its status as an official language and has become an advantage and even a prerequisite when aspiring to specific jobs, can be a potential and important source of social conflict, seen as discrimination against persons of non-Catalan origin.

In accord with the conclusions of our study, if the vicious circle of non-use / non-learning of Catalan by immigrants is to be broken, social and political measures need to be taken to permit:

a) Increased use of Catalan as the vehicular language of obligatory education, mainly in the first years of schooling and in any event before puberty;

b) Intermixing of the indigenous and immigrant communities in the make-up of the class-group in school, also always preferably in the early stages of schooling;

c) Realization by parents of second generation immigrants of the advantages of these measures, with the aim of enlisting their support and encouragement of the process within the framework of the family as well;

d) The alerting of the host population to the differences between first and second generation immigrants, as regards their differing potentiality to achieve linguistic proficiency and particularly the urging of the indigenous population to cooperate in fomenting the use of Catalan by the second generation; and

e) Within the bounds of possibility, the reduction of residential segregation of the immigrant population, and the encouraging of every course of action which might make for closer daily coexistence between individuals of the two groups.

These types of measures are valid not only for the locality we have studied but also for other population nuclei in Catalonia with similar characteristics. Very probably the tendencies recorded herein also apply in other Catalan localities with a similar number and composition of inhabitants, so that our results can be said to be applicable in their broad outlines, to this particular type of urban agglomeration in general. On the other hand, they do not appear to be so easily generalized - above all in the purely descriptive aspects - in areas of Catalonia in which there are large concentrations of immigrants, with scant opportunities for contact with the host population, such as those generally found in the metropolitan environment of a few big cities. Nor can they possibly be in respect of rural nuclei with a low index of immigration.

To arrive then at a clear image closely corresponding to the complex reality of the second generation immigrant in present-day Catalonia would require other monographs on different residential structure-types, to permit a more profound understanding of the various situations which are simultaneously

current today in Catalonia. We can presume that the results would vary according to how the population is made up and, to a lesser degree on account of the as yet slow momentum of the implantation of Catalan as the vehicular language of educational instruction, depending on age and the degree of exposure to Catalan in this respect. As regards these various situations, and principally in communities where maximum segregation of immigrants exists, other measures will have to complement those proposed herein, if it is intended to instil linguistic equality in every citizen and thus avoid potential social conflicts of unpredictable gravity. As we have indicated earlier, once a language has been declared official and its knowledge in occupational fields becomes necessary and rewarding, command of it is converted into an important economic asset without which persons can automatically find themselves in a position of disadvantage. Consequently, only a decisive, imaginative policy of linguistic levelling of the differing grades of citizens from the outset - viz. acquired within the family environment - can bring about, in the circumstances presently prevailing in Catalonia, the diminishment and progressive solution of this latent linguistic problem.

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APPENDIX A

INSTRUMENTS FOR THE COLLECTION OF DATA

TEST PAPER ON CONTEXTUALIZED WORD-NAMING Num. ⌊_____⌋

Given name _____ 1st surname _____

2nd surname _____ Level of studies _____

School _____

Subject _____

1	18	35
2	19	36
3	20	37
4	21	38
5	22	39
6	23	40
7	24	41
8	25	42
9	26	43
10	27	44
11	28	45
12	29	46
13	30	47
14	31	48
15	32	49
16	33	50
17	34	51

TRANSLATION OF THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC QUESTIONNAIRE No.____

PLEASE ANSWER THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS BY PUTTING A CROSS (x) AGAINST NO MORE THAN ONE OF THE POSSIBLE ANSWERS TO EACH QUESTION

1. *Given name* _____ *First surname* _____

   Second surname _____

2. *Address*
   Street, Square, etc. ____ *Nº* ____ *Floor* ____ *Apartement* __

   Town _____

3. *(If you do not live in Vilafranca, proceed to question Nº 4)*
   In which district of Vilafranca do you live?
   1. Centre
   2. Les Clotes
   3. L'Espirall
   4. El Poble Nou
   5. Sant Julià
   6. El Molí d'en Rovira
   7. Elsewhere

4. *Sex*
   1. Boy
   2. Girl

5. *Age* _____ Years

6. *Where were you born?*
   1. Catalonia, Balearic Is. or Valencia
   2. Another part of Spain
   3. Elsewhere

7. *(If you were born in Catalonia, Balearic Is. or Valencia, proceed straight to question Nº 8)*
   If you were not born in Catalonia, Balearic Is. or Valencia, how old were you when you arrived in Catalonia?
   _____ Years old

8. *Present educational centre*
   01. Dr. Estalella Graells
   02. Mas i Perera
   03. Pau Boada
   04. Dr. Baltà Elias
   05. Cristófor Mestre
   06. Sant Elias (Col.legi del Carme)
   07. Sant Ramon
   08. Montagut
   09. Santa Anna
   10. Institut de Formació Professional
   11. Inst. "Eugeni d'Ors"

9. *Present school course*
   1. 4th Grade E.G.B.
   2. 7th Grade E.G.B.
   3. 2nd Grade F.P.
   4. 2nd Grade B.U.P.

10. *Please do not answer this question unless requested to do so by your teacher*
    Group? _____

11. *Where was your father born?*
    1. Catalonia, Balearic Is. or Valencia
    2. Another part of Spain
    3. Outside Spain

12. *Where was your mother born?*
    1. Catalonia, Balearic Is. or Valencia
    2. Another part of Spain
    3. Outside Spain

13. *In what language do your father and mother speak to each other?*
    1. Both always in Catalan
    2. Both always in Castilian
    3. One always in Catalan and the other always in Castilian
    4. Both use a mixture of Catalan and Castilian
    5. Other than Catalan and/or Castilian

14. *In which language do your parents speak to you?*
    1. Both always in Catalan
    2. Both always in Castilian
    3. One always in Catalan and the other always in Castilian
    4. Both use a mixture of Catalan and Castilian
    5. In a language other than Catalan or Castilian

15. *In which language do you speak to your parents?*
    1. Always in Catalan to both
    2. Always in Castilian to both
    3. Always in Catalan to one and always in Castilian to the other
    4. In mixed Catalan and Castilian to both
    5. In a language other than Catalan or Castilian

16. *Apart from your parents, which language is generally spoken in your home by other persons living there (such as brothers and sisters, grandparents, aunts and uncles, etc.)?*
    1. At home we are only my parents and myself
    2. Always in Catalan
    3. Always in Castilian
    4. In Catalan and Castilian
    5. In a language other than Catalan or Castilian

17. *In which language do you speak to persons, other than your parents, who live in your home?*
    1. At home we are only my parents and myself
    2. Always in Catalan
    3. Always in Castilian
    4. In Catalan and Castilian
    5. In a language other than Catalan or Castilian

18. *Which language do you hear spoken in your neighbourhood?*
    1. Catalan always or nearly always
    2. Castilian always or nearly always
    3. Catalan and Castilian equally

19. *In which language do people you know speak to you in your neighbourhood?*
    1. In Catalan always or nearly always
    2. In Castilian always or nearly always
    3. In Catalan and Castilian equally

20. *In which language do you speak to people you know in your neighbourhood?*
    1. In Catalan always or nearly always
    2. In Castilian always or nearly always
    3. In Catalan and Castilian approximately equally

21. *Apart from Catalan and Castilian language classes, in which language have the teachers you have had during your school years taught you lessons?*
    1. In Catalan always or nearly always
    2. In Castilian always or nearly always
    3. In Catalan and Castilian approximately equally

22. *Throughout your years at school or institute in which language have you spoken to the teachers you have had?*
    1. In Catalan always or nearly always
    2. In Castilian always or nearly always
    3. In Catalan and Castilian approximately equally

23. *In which language did you first learn to read and write?*
    1. In Catalan
    2. In Castilian
    3. In Catalan and Castilian at the same time

24. *How long have you been having Catalan language classes?*
    1. 6 or more courses
    2. 4/5 courses
    3. 2/3 courses
    4. 1 course

25. *In which language do you hear your classmates speak among themselves at your school or institute?*
    1. In Catalan always or nearly always
    2. In Castilian always or nearly always
    3. In Catalan and Castilian approximately equally

26. *In which language do your classmates speak to you at your school or institute?*
    1. In Catalan always or nearly always
    2. In Castilian always or nearly always
    3. In Catalan and Castilian approximately equally

27. *In which language do you speak to your classmates at your school or institute?*
    1. In Catalan always or nearly always
    2. In Castilian always or nearly always
    3. In Catalan and Castilian approximately equally

28. *Apart from the normal school or institute routine, there are other organized spare time activities such as games of football, basketball, M.I.V., [Children's activities], l'espinguet, [Choir], instruction in the catechism, boy scouts, classes in drawing, design, music, dancing, etc... in which language do you find your companions speaking among themselves at these?*
    1. I do not go to such spare time activities
    2. In Catalan always or nearly always
    3. In Castilian always or nearly always
    4. In Catalan and Castilian approximately equally

29. *In which language do your companions there speak to you at the sparetime activities referred to in the previous question?*
    1. I do not go to such spare time activities
    2. In Catalan always or nearly always
    3. In Castilian always or nearly always
    4. In Catalan or Castilian approximately equally

30. *In these spare time activities we are talking about, in which language do you speak to your companions there?*
    1. I do not go to such spare time activities
    2. In Catalan always or nearly always
    3. In Castilian always or nearly always
    4. In Catalan and Castilian approximately equally

31. *When you come out of school or the institute each day, and on holidays, you probably have a friend or group of friends with whom you play or amuse yourself. In what language do you hear these boy or girl friends speak among themselves?*
    1. Normally I do not go out with boy or girl friends in my spare time
    2. I do not hear these friends speaking among themselves because normally I am not in the company of more than one
    3. In Catalan always or nearly always
    4. In Castilian always or nearly always
    5. In Catalan and Castilian approximately equally

32. *In which language does this friend or do these friends speak to you more in your spare time?*
    1. Normally I do not go out with any boy or girl friend in my spare time
    2. In Catalan always or nearly always
    3. In Castilian always or nearly always
    4. In Catalan and Castilian approximately equally

33. *In what language do you speak to this friend or these friends that you normally see in yous spare time?*
    1. Normally I do not go out with any boy or girl friend in my spare time.
    2. In Catalan always or nearly always
    3. In Castilian always or nearly always
    4. In Catalan and Castilian approximately equally

34. *Possibly you go to mass on sundays and religious holidays. In which language is the mass which you attend normally celebrated?*
    1. Generally speaking, I do not go to mass
    2. In Catalan
    3. In Castilian
    4. In Catalan and Castilian

35. *How often do you generally watch television or video in Castilian?*
    1. Never
    2. Once a month, or even less
    3. Three times a week, or less
    4. Every day for one hour or less
    5. Every day for two hours or more

36. *How often do you generally watch television or video in Catalan?*
    1. Never
    2. Once a month, or even less
    3. Three times a week, or less
    4. Every day for one hour or less
    5. Every day for two hours or more

37. *How often do you generally listen to radio programmes in Castilian?*
    1. Never
    2. Once a month, or even less
    3. Three times a week, or less
    4. Every day for one hour or less
    5. Every day for two hours or more

38. *How often do you generally listen to radio programmes in Catalan?*
    1. Never
    2. Once a month, or even less
    3. Three times a week, or less
    4. Every day for one hour or less
    5. Every day for two hours or more

39. *How many times did you go to the theatre or cinema last year to see plays or films in Castilian?*
    1. None
    2. 1-5 times
    3. 5-15 times
    4. 15-30 times
    5. More than 30 times

40. *How many times did you go to the theatre or cinema last year to see plays or films in Catalan?*
    1. None
    2. 1-5 times
    3. 5-15 times
    4. 15-30 times
    5. More than 30 times

41. *In which language do you generally read books, comics, magazines, stories, newspapers, etc. which you have at home or at the library?*
    1. Always or nearly in Catalan
    2. Always or nearly always in Castilian
    3. Approximately equally in Catalan and Castilian

42. *In which language do you generally write?*
    1. Always or nearly always in Catalan
    2. Always or nearly always in Castilian
    3. Approximately equally in Catalan and Castilian

43. *Normally which language suits you better to speak?*
    1. Catalan
    2. Castilian
    3. Catalan and Castilian equally

44. *In which language do you prefer to be taught lessons?*
    1. In Catalan
    2. In Castilian
    3. In Catalan or Castilian without preference

45. *How well do you think you know how to speak Catalan?*
    1. Well
    2. Fairly well
    3. Badly

46. *How well do you think you know how to speak Castilian?*
    1. Well
    2. Fairly well
    3. Badly

47. *Do you understand spoken Catalan?*
    1. Yes
    2. Fairly well
    3. No

48. *Do you understand spoken Castilian?*
    1. Yes
    2. Fairly well
    3. No

A P P E N D I X B

COMPARISON OF TESTS CARRIED OUT ON ORAL AND WRITTEN MODES OF EXPRESSION

With the aim of trying to reply to the question of to what degree the results of the word-naming tests answered in writing might be said to match those which would have been obtained had the tests been conducted orally, further exercises were carried out in both forms, oral and written, with a same make-up of individuals and using the same themes, the objective being to enable these results to be compared.

We had the cooperation of 16 persons in 4th grade EGB (9-10 years) and 23 in 7th grade (12-13 years), of whom 15 were Catalan speakers and 24 Castilian-speaking. All the individuals participating had learned to read and write in Castilian, whatever their mother tongue, and had then had access to Catalan classes (3 hours a week) for most of their school years. Currently, they had teachers who spoke to them about equally in Catalan and Castilian, although their written linguistic usage still tended to be predominantly in Castilian.

In the first place they were subjected to written tests, with a minimum of one week between their replies in Catalan and those to the same test in Castilian. Eight weeks later the same tests were employed, this time orally, with a week separating those in one language from those in the other. The centres of interest were "The human body", "The kitchen and the dining-room" and "The street".

Comparison of the results obtained in the written mode of expression with those produced orally clearly shows that important differences exist between the product of these two options, principally in the case of the exercises carried out in Catalan. In the immigrant-origin sub-group, the differences between oral and written answers are, generally speaking, very slight in the case of Castilian, with a tendency towards predominance of the oral mode of expression as regards the number of words counted. By contrast, in the exercises in Catalan the oral mode of expression always seems to predominate and this is very marked in certain interest-centres (for instance, an average of 25.5 versus 18 in "The Street" theme). The Catalan sub-group, for their part, showed very similar results in producing words in Castilian, whatever the mode of expression, although tending to come up with more in the written form af answer. On the other hand, when they reply to the same tests in Catalan, the tendency is generally reversed, i.e. the predominance is in the oral mode of expression, and the differences in word-count, moreover, assume notable proportions (27 versus 18 in the "Kitchen and the dining-room" interest-centre) (see Table B-1).

One notes then in the aggregate of individuals undergoing the tests a general decrease in the total number of Catalan words produced in the written form of expression, which is a perfectly logical effect if we consider the greater pressure exerted by Castilian in this sphere. Granted that this tendency, although it is also to be seen in some of the results of tests

in Castilian, does not attain in the latter the magnitude shown in exercises answered in Catalan, it can still be deduced that the factor of the first language learned in reading and writing, and possibly also that of the lesser or greater usage of a language in the written sphere, intervenes in the results of written tests to a degree which cannot be overlooked.

The hypothesis that the result of our study would have been different if the answers to the lexical exercises had been given orally instead of in writing, would appear to be reconfirmed by the averages of the coefficient of bilinguality (obtained by applying to the results of this test the same formula which we used throughout our work) compared according to the form of expression from which they derive.

In both the immigrant and Catalan groups the written performance of this type of test indicated an imbalance of bilinguality in favour of Castilian, a fact which also seems to prove it characteristic of the participants to have a better oral than written command of Catalan (see Table B-2). The correlation between the coefficients of bilinguality which an oral mode of expression would have achieved and that resulting from written expression, do nothing more than back up our conclusion on obtaining differring results in oral and written exercises. In the two sub-groups investigated, two of the three interest-centres selected show a much lesser degree of correlation than expected and only one, "The street", evidences a high correlation index, of .77, which also goes to show the diversity of results depending on the interest-centre dealt with.

All the data of our study should consequently be interpreted in the light of the findings we have just formulated. Figures relating to objective linguistic proficiency will very probably always have been influenced by the fact that their basic data were obtained through written tests.

A P P E N D I X C

STATISTICAL TABLES

TABLE 201

INHABITANTS OF VILAFRANCA DEL PENEDES
ACCORDING TO BIRTHPLACE, AS OF 1930, 1950 AND 1983

Birthplace	1930 HABITANTES	%	1950 HABITANTES	%	1983 HABITANTES	%
Catalonia	8.883	91,04	8.992	83,71	18.057	69.77
Other Catalan-speaking areas	208	2,13	235	2,19	386	1,49
Total N° born in Catalan-speaking zone	9.091	93,17	9.227	85,90	18.443	71,26
Andalusia	59	0,60	366	3,41	2.897	11,19
Aragon	176	1,80	218	2,03	481	1,86
Asturias	2	0,02	12	0,11	50	0,19
Canary Is.	6	0,06	13	0,12	19	0,07
Cantabria	3	0,03	13	0,12	45	0,17
Castile - Leon	51	0,52	134	1,25	367	1,42
Castile - La Mancha	56	0,57	163	1,52	886	3,42
Extremadura	64	0,65	233	2,17	1.607	6,21
Galicia	10	0,10	50	0,46	127	0,49
Madrid	27	0,28	46	0,43	172	0,66
Murcia	83	0,85	124	1,15	310	1,20
Navarra	19	0,19	39	0,36	51	0,20
Basque country	8	0,08	24	0,22	68	0,26
Rioja	13	0,13	8	0,07	24	0,10
Ceuta	-	-	-	-	10	0,04
Melilla	-	-	-	-	16	0,06
Abroad	89	0,91	71	0,66	306	1,20
Total population	9.757		10.741		25.879	

Sources: - Massanell & Mercader, 1957 for years 1939 and 1950.
- Municipal Government of Vilafranca del Penedès for year 1983.

T A B L E 2 0 2

BREAKDOWN OF THAT PART OF THE POPULATION OF VILAFRANCA DEL PENEDES BORN BEFORE 1960, BY BIRTHPLACE AND OFFICIAL DISTRICT OF RESIDENCE

District	Section	NEIGHBOURHOOD	BIRTHPLACE: CATALAN LANGUAGE AREA			REST OF SPAIN			ABROAD			TOTAL
			N°	%	%	N°	%	%	N°	%	%	
1	1	Centre / Les Clotes	715	57,0	7,5	537	42,8	8,5	2	0,2	8,3	1.254
1	2	Les Clotes	708	55,7	7,4	560	44,1	8,9	3	0,2	12,5	1.271
2	1	L'Espiral / Vivendes Sindicals	879	43,0	9,2	1162	56,9	18,4	3	0,1	12,5	2.044
2	2	Pere Alegret / Carratera Barcelona	1161	66,1	12,1	592	33,7	9,3	3	0,2	12,5	1.756
2	3	L'Espirall	515	37,6	5,4	852	62,3	13,5	1	0,1	4,2	1.368
3	1	San Julià	1337	57,1	14	1005	42,9	15,9	-	-	-	2.342
3	2	Centre	645	80,4	6,7	156	19,5	2,5	1	0,1	4,2	802
4	1	El Poble Nou	1025	69,1	10,7	456	30,8	7,2	2	0,1	8,33	1.483
4	2	El Moli d'en Rovira	1244	74,6	13,0	418	25,1	6,6	5	0,3	20,83	1.667
4	3	El Poble Nou	1336	69,6	14,0	580	30,2	9,2	4	0,2	16,7	1.920
T o t a l			9565	60,1	100	6318	39,7	100	24	0,2	100	15.907

Source: Municipal Government of Vilafranca del Penedès

TABLE 203

RESIDENT POPULATION OF VILAFRANCA DEL PENÈDES
BORN BETWEEN 1969 AND 1975,
ACCORDING TO ORIGIN OF PARENTS

	n	%	n[1]	%
- Father and mother born in the Catalan-speaking area	574	42	217	42
- Father born in the Catalan-speaking area and mother not, or vice versa	317	23	109	21
- Father and mother born elsewhere in Spain	484	35	188	37
T o t a l	1.375	100	514	100

Source: Municipal Government of Vilafranca del Penedès

[1]Data based on the composition of the class-groups of 4th and 7th grades of E.G.B. (Basic General Education) level in Vilafranca del Penedès. Compiled by the author.

TABLE 204

LANGUAGE IN WHICH THE CHILDREN OF PARENTS OF MIXED ORIGIN SPEAK TO THEIR PARENTS IN VILAFRANCA DEL PENEDÈS

	No	%
- In Catalan to both father and mother	77	60,6
- In Catalan to father and Castilian to mother, or vice versa	15	11,8
- In Castilian to both father and mother	27	21,3
- Other cases	8	6,3
	127	100

Source: Bastardas, 1985.

TABLE 205

POPULATION OF VILAFRANCA DEL PENEDÈS,
ACCORDING TO YEAR OF BIRTH AND ESTIMATION OF FIRST LANGUAGE

First language	Born before 1960		Born between 1969 and 1975	
	No	%	No	%
- Catalan	9.566	60,15	759	55,20
- Catalan and Castilian	-	-	69	5,02
- Castilian	6.312	39,70	547	39,78
- Other languages	24	0,15		
	15.902	100	1.375	100

Source: Compiled by the author from data furnished by the Municipal Government of Vilafranca del Penedès.

TABLE 206

BIRTHPLACE OF INDIVIDUALS STUDIED AND AGE OF ARRIVAL IN CATALONIA

School Level / Age		Did not answer	Catalonia, Balearic Is., Valencia	Rest of Spain: Arrived in Catalonia at 3 yrs of age or less	Rest of Spain: Arrived in Catalonia at 4 yrs of age or more	Elsewhere: Arrived in Catalonia at 3 yrs of age or less	Elsewhere: Arrived in Catalonia at 4 yrs of age or more	Total
4th Grade EGB (9-10 yrs)	%	(03,03)	85,94	09,37	-	04,69	-	40,49
	N°	2	55	6	-	3	-	66
7th Grade EGB (12-13 yrs)	%	-	70,49	13,11	14,75	-	01,64	37,42
	N°	-	43	8	9	-	1	61
2nd Grade BUP-FP (15-16 yrs)	%	-	75,00	08,33	13,89	-	02,78	22,09
	N°	-	27	3	5	-	1	36
Total	%	(01,23)	77,64	10,56	08,69	01,86	01,24	100
	N°	2	125	17	14	3	2	163

T A B L E 2 0 7

GRADE OF SCHOOLING OF THE HEAD OF THE FAMILY
ACCORDING TO OFFICIAL POPULATION CENSUS (IMMIGRANT AND CATALAN GROUPS)

Origin of individuals studied, according to parents' birthplace		Did not answer	1 Unable to read or write, or only with difficulty	2 Incomplete Primary education	3 Primary education or 1st cycle of EGB completed	4 - 2nd cycle EGB completed - FP (Professional Training) - Secondary Education Completed - Intermediate diploma - University degree	Total
Catalan	%	(8,43)	-	23,92	38,03	38,03	52,20
	N°	15	-	39	62	62	178
Immigrant	%	(4,90)	9,68	46,45	26,45	17,42	47,80
	N°	8	15	72	41	27	163
T o t a l	%	(6,74)	4,72	34,90	32,39	27,99	100
	N°	23	15	111	103	89	341

T A B L E 2 0 8

BREAKDOWN OF IMMIGRANT GROUP ACCORDING TO PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION OF CATALAN ORIGIN RESIDENT IN THEIR MUNICIPAL DISTRICT (1) AND PRESENT IN THE SCHOOL CLASS-GROUP (2)

School Level / Age		Catalan-origin population (%)								Total
		0-25		26-50		51-75		76-100		
		1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	
4th Grade EGB	%	-	-	46,97	63,64	53,03	33,33	-	3,03	40,49
9-10 yrs	N°	-	-	31	42	35	22	-	2	66
7th Grade EGB	%	1,64	26,23	39,34	59,02	57,38	11,48	1,64	3,28	37,42
12-13 yrs	N°	1	16	24	36	35	7	1	2	61
2nd Grade BUP-FP	%	5,56	-	27,78	-	63,89	97,22	2,78	2,78	22,09
15-16 yrs	N°	2	-	10	-	23	35	1	1	36
T o t a l	%	1,84	9,82	39,88	47,85	57,06	39,26	1,23	3,07	100
	N°	3	16	65	78	93	64	2	5	163

TABLE 209

SPECTATOR (1) AND INTERLOCUTORY (2) LINGUISTIC EXPOSURE
IN THE INDIVIDUAL'S RESIDENTIAL NEIGHBOURHOOD (Questions N° 18 and 19)

School Level / Age		Did not answer		Always or nearly always in Catalan		Approximately equally in Catalan and Castilian		Always or nearly always in Castilian		Total
		1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	
4th Grade EGB	%	-	-	6,06	3,03	53,03	30,30	40,91	66,67	40,49
9-10 yrs	N°	-	-	4	2	35	20	27	44	66
7th Grade EGB	%	(1,64)	-	8,33	3,28	51,67	31,15	40,00	65,57	37,42
12-13 yrs	N°	1	-	5	2	31	19	24	40	61
2nd Grade BUP-FP	%	-	-	19,44	11,11	52,78	22,22	27,78	66,67	22,09
15-16 yrs	N°	-	-	7	4	19	8	10	24	36
T o t a l	%	(0,61)	-	9,88	4,91	52,47	28,83	37,65	66,26	100
	N°	1	-	16	8	85	47	61	108	163

TABLE 210

SPECTATOR (1) AND INTERLOCUTORY (2)
LINGUISTIC EXPOSURE IN THE SCHOOL CLASS-GROUP (PUPILS)
(Questions N° 25 and 26)

School Level / Age		Did not answer		Always or nearly always in Catalan		Approximately equally in Catalan and Castilian		Always of nearly always in Castilian		Total
		1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	
4th Grade EGB (9-10 yrs)	%	-	-	19,70	9,09	36,36	24,24	43,94	66,67	40,49
	N°	-	-	13	6	24	16	29	44	66
7th Grade EGB (12-13 yrs)	%	-	-	4,92	4,92	32,79	32,79	62,30	62,30	37,42
	N°	-	-	3	3	20	20	38	38	61
2nd Grade BUP-FP (15-16 yrs)	%	-	-	47,22	13,89	50,00	27,78	2,78	58,33	22,09
	N°	-	-	17	5	18	10	1	21	36
Total	%	-	-	20,25	8,59	38,04	28,22	41,72	63,19	100
	N°	-	-	33	14	62	46	63	103	163

TABLE 211

SPECTATOR (1) AND INTERLOCUTORY (2)
LINGUISTIC EXPOSURE IN OUT-OF-SCHOOL AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES
(Questions N° 28 and 29)

School Level / Age		Did not answer		Do not participate in out-of-school or recreational activities		Always or nearly always in Catalan		Approximately equally in Catalan and Castilian		Always or nearly always in Castilian		Total
		1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	
4th Grade EGB (9-10 yrs)	%	-	-	(39,39)	(42,42)	52,50	39,47	35,00	26,32	12,50	34,21	40,49
	N°	-	-	26	28	21	15	14	10	5	13	66
7th Grade EGB (12-13 yrs)	%	(1,64)	(1,64)	(22,95)	(22,95)	30,43	17,39	23,91	21,74	45,65	60,87	37,42
	N°	1	1	14	14	14	8	11	10	21	28	61
2nd Grade BUP-FP (15-16 yrs)	%	-	-	(19,44)	(19,44)	48,28	13,79	34,48	13,79	17,24	72,41	22,09
	N°	-	-	7	7	14	4	10	4	5	21	36
Total	%	(0,61)	(0,61)	(28,83)	(30,06)	42,61	23,89	30,43	21,24	26,96	54,87	100
	N°	1	1	47	49	49	27	35	24	31	62	163

T A B L E 2 1 2

SPECTATOR (1) AND INTERLOCUTORY (2)
LINGUISTIC EXPOSURE IN THE GROUP OF FRIENDS
(Questions N° 31 and 32)

School Level / Age		Did not answer		Does not have a group of friends		Only has one friend		Always or nearly always in Catalan		Approximately equally in Catalan and Castilian		Always or nearly always in Castilian		Total
		1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	
4th Grade EGB (9-10 yrs)	%	-	-	(9,09)	(7,58)	(6,06)	-	3,57	6,56	16,07	11,48	80,35	81,97	40,49
	N°	-	-	6	5	4	-	2	4	9	7	45	50	66
7th Grade EGB (12-13 yrs)	%	(1,64)	(1,64)	(6,56)	(6,56)	-	-	5,35	3,57	10,71	8,93	83,92	87,50	37,42
	N°	1	1	4	4	-	-	3	2	6	5	47	49	61
2nd Grade BUP-FP (15-16 yrs)	%	-	-	(2,78)	(2,78)	-	-	31,42	11,43	25,71	14,29	42,85	74,29	22,09
	N°	-	-	1	1	-	-	11	4	9	5	15	26	36
T o t a l	%	(0,61)	(0,61)	(6,75)	(6,13)	(2,45)	-	10,88	6,58	16,32	11,18	72,79	82,24	100
	N°	1	1	11	10	4	-	16	10	24	17	107	125	163

TABLE 213

SPECTATOR/INTERLOCUTORY LINGUISTIC EXPOSURE:
VEHICULAR LANGUAGE IN WHICH THE SUBJECT HAS RECEIVED SCHOOLING
(Question N° 21)

School Level / Age		Did not reply	Always or nearly always in Catalan	Approximately equally in Catalan and Castilian	Always or nearly always in Castilian	Total
4th Grade EGB (9-10 yrs)	%	-	19,70	40,91	39,39	40,49
	N°	-	13	27	26	66
7th Grade EGB (12-13 yrs)	%	-	29,51	13,11	57,38	37,42
	N°	-	18	8	35	61
2nd Grade BUP-FP (15-16 yrs)	%	-	25	44,44	30,56	22,09
	N°	-	9	16	11	36
Total	%	-	24,54	31,29	44,17	100
	N°	-	40	51	72	163

TABLE 214

LANGUAGE IN WHICH THE INDIVIDUAL LEARNED TO READ AND WRITE
(Question N° 23)

School Level / Age		Did not answer	Catalan	Catalan and Castilian	Castilian	Total
4th Grade EGB (9-10 yrs)	%	-	7,58	3,03	89,39	40,49
	N°	-	5	2	59	66
7th Grade EGB (12-13 yrs)	%	-	4,92	-	95,08	37,42
	N°	-	3	-	58	61
2nd Grade BUP-FP (15-16 yrs)	%	-	-	-	100	22,09
	N°	-	-	-	36	36
Total	%	-	4,91	1,23	93,87	100
	N°	-	8	2	153	163

T A B L E 2 1 5

CATALAN LANGUAGE COURSES RECEIVED AT SCHOOL OR INSTITUTE
(Question N° 24)

School Level / Age		Did not answer	6 courses or more	4 or 5 courses	2 or 3 courses	1 course	Total
4th Grade EGB	%	(1,52)	-	64,62	33,85	1,54	40,49
(9-10 yrs)	N°	1	-	42	22	1	66
7th Grade EGB	%	-	44,26	42,62	13,11	-	37,42
(12-13 yrs)	N°	-	27	26	8	-	61
2nd Grade BUP-FP	%	-	77,78	19,44	2,78	-	22,09
(15-16 yrs)	N°	-	28	7	1	-	36
T o t a l	%	(0,61)	33,95	46,30	19,14	0,62	100
	N°	1	55	75	31	1	163

T A B L E 2 1 6

GLOBAL GRADES OF SPECTATOR AND INTERLOCUTORY LINGUISTIC EXPOSURE

School Level / Age		POINTS GRADING 0 Spectator exposure	0 Interlocutory exposure	1-2 Spectator exposure	1-2 Interlocutory exposure	3-5 Spectator exposure	3-5 Interlocutory exposure	6-10 Spectator exposure	6-10 Interlocutory exposure	Total
4th Grade EGB (9-10 yrs)	%	6	21	41	43	35	26	18	10	100
	N°									
7th Grade EGB (12-13 yrs)	%	18	31	29	34	43	28	10	7	100
	N°									
2nd Grade BUP-FP (15-16 yrs)	%	-	17	14	47	42	17	44	19	100
	N°									
T o t a l	%	9,20	23,93	30,67	40,49	39,26	24,54	20,85	11,04	100
	N°	15	39	50	66	64	40	34	18	163

TABLE 217

FREQUENCY OF EXPOSURE TO TELEVISION IN CASTILIAN (1) AND IN CATALAN (2)
(Questions N° 35 and 36)

School Level / Age		Did not answer		Never		Once a month or less		Three times a week or less		Every day for one hour or less		Every day for two hours or more		Total
		1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	
4th Grade EGB (9-10 yrs)	%	-	-	6,06	30,30	-	7,58	4,55	22,73	22,73	28,79	66,67	10,61	40,49
	N°	-	-	4	20	-	5	3	15	15	19	44	7	66
7th Grade EGB (13-13 yrs)	%	(3,28)	(3,28)	-	37,29	-	18,64	3,39	30,51	25,42	10,17	71,19	3,39	37,42
	N°	2	2	-	22	-	11	2	18	15	6	42	2	61
2nd Grade BUP-FP (15-16 yrs)	%	-	(2,78)	-	11,43	-	11,43	11,11	31,43	27,78	42,86	61,11	2,86	22,09
	N°	-	1	-	4	-	4	4	11	10	15	22	1	36
T o t a l	%	(1,23)	(1,84)	2,48	28,75	-	12,50	5,59	27,50	24,84	25,00	67,08	6,25	100
	N°	2	3	4	46	-	20	9	44	40	40	108	10	163

T A B L E 2 1 8

FREQUENCY OF EXPOSURE TO RADIO IN CASTILIAN (1) AND IN CATALAN (2)
(Questions N° 37 and 38)

School Level / Age		Did not answer		Never		Once a month or less		Three times a week or less		Every day for one hour or less		Every day for two hours or more		Total
		1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	
4th Grade EGB (9-10 yrs)	%	-	(1,52)	27,27	72,31	15,15	9,23	12,12	4,62	31,82	12,31	13,64	1,54	40,49
	N°	-	1	18	47	10	6	8	3	21	8	9	1	66
7th Grade EGB (12-13 yrs)	%	(3,28)	(3,28)	13,56	38,98	8,47	22,03	23,73	18,64	30,51	13,56	23,73	6,78	37,42
	N°	2	2	8	23	5	13	14	11	18	8	14	4	61
2nd Grade BUP-FP (15-16 yrs)	%	(2,78)	(2,78)	17,14	14,29	5,71	14,29	31,43	22,86	25,71	42,86	20,00	5,71	22,09
	N°	1	1	6	5	2	5	11	8	9	15	7	2	36
T o t a l	%	(1,84)	(2,45)	20,00	47,17	10,63	15,09	20,63	13,84	30,00	19,50	18,75	4,40	100
	N°	3	4	32	75	17	24	33	22	48	31	30	7	163

TABLE 219

FREQUENCY OF EXPOSURE TO FILMS IN CASTILIAN (1) AND IN CATALAN (2) DURING THE YEAR 1983
(Questions N° 39 and 40)

School Level / Age		Did not answer		Never		1-5 times		5-15 times		15-30 times		More than 30 times		Total
		1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	
4th Grade EGB (9-10 yrs)	%	-	-	7,58	21,21	30,30	46,97	15,15	22,73	10,61	6,06	36,36	3,03	40,49
	N°	-	-	5	14	20	31	10	15	7	4	24	2	66
7th Grade EGB (12-13 yrs)	%	(3,28)	(3,28)	6,78	6,78	13,56	71,19	37,29	18,64	11,86	1,69	30,51	1,69	37,42
	N°	2	2	4	4	8	42	22	11	7	1	18	1	61
2nd Grade BUP-FP (15-16 yrs)	%	-	-	-	27,78	30,56	63,89	30,56	8,33	25,00	-	13,89	-	22,09
	N°	-	-	-	10	11	23	11	3	9	-	5	-	36
Total	%	(1,23)	(1,23)	5,59	17,39	24,22	59,63	26,71	18,01	14,29	3,11	29,19	1,86	100
	N°	2	2	9	28	39	96	43	29	23	5	47	3	163

TABLE 220

LINGUISTIC EXPOSURE TO WRITTEN COMMUNICATION MEDIA
(Question N° 41)

School Level / Age		Did not answer	Always or nearly always in Catalan	Approximately equally in Catalan and Castilian	Always or nearly always in Castilian	Total
4th Grade EGB (9-10 yrs)	%	-	-	30,30	69,70	40,49
	N°	-	-	20	46	66
7th Grade EGB (12-13 yrs)	%	(6,56)	1,75	29,82	68,42	37,42
	N°	4	1	17	39	61
2nd Grade BUP-FP (15-16 yrs)	%	-	8,33	30,56	61,11	22,09
	N°	-	3	11	22	36
Total	%	(2,45)	2,52	30,19	67,30	100
	N°	4	4	48	107	163

TABLE 221

LINGUISTIC BEHAVIOUR IN THE SOCIAL DOMAINS

Domains and School Level / Age	Did not answer				Always or nearly always in Catalan		Approximately equally in Catalan and Castilian		Always or nearly always in Castilian		Total	
	%	N			%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
- In the residential district (Q. 19)												
4th Grade EGB (9-10)	-	-			4,55	3	25,76	17	69,70	46	40,49	66
7th Grade EGB (12-13)	(1,64)	1			3,33	2	26,67	16	70,00	42	37,42	61
2nd Grade BUP-FP (15-16)	-	-			11,11	4	19,44	7	69,44	25	22,09	36
Total	(0,61)	1			5,56	9	24,69	40	69,75	113	100,00	163
- With other pupils in the class (Q. 27)												
4th Grade EGB (9-10)	-	-			10,61	7	18,18	12	71,21	47	40,49	66
7th Grade EGB (12-13)	-	-			4,92	3	24,59	15	70,49	43	37,42	61
2nd Grade BUP-FP (15-16)	-	-			11,11	4	16,67	6	72,22	26	22,09	36
Total	-	-			8,59	14	20,25	33	71,17	116	100,00	163
- In out-of-school and recreational activities (Q. 30)			(A)									
4th Grade EGB (9-10)	(1,52)	1	(36,36)	24	24,39	10	31,71	13	43,90	18	40,49	66
7th Grade EGB (12-13)	(1,64)	1	(22,95)	14	17,39	8	21,74	10	60,87	28	37,42	61
2nd Grade BUP-FP (15-16)	-	-	(19,44)	7	13,79	4	10,34	3	75,86	22	22,09	36
Total	(1,23)	2	(27,61)	45	18,97	22	22,41	26	58,62	68	100,00	163
- In the group of friends (Q. 33)			(B)									
4th Grade EGB (9-10)	(1,52)	1	(9,09)	6	3,39	2	13,56	8	83,05	49	40,49	66
7th Grade EGB (12-13)	(1,64)	1	(6,56)	4	5,36	3	8,93	5	85,71	48	37,42	61
2nd Grade BUP-FP (15-16)	-	-	(2,78)	1	14,29	5	8,57	3	77,14	27	22,09	36
Total	(1,23)	2	(6,75)	11	6,67	10	10,67	16	82,67	124	100,00	163
- With teacher/s throughout schooling (Q. 22)												
4th Grade EGB (9-10)	-	-			13,64	9	27,27	18	59,09	39	40,49	66
7th Grade EGB (12-13)	-	-			13,11	8	31,15	19	55,74	34	37,42	61
2nd Grade BUP-FP (15-16)	-	-			16,67	6	19,44	7	63,89	23	22,09	36
Total	-	-			14,11	23	26,99	44	58,90	96	100,00	163
- Written (Q. 42)												
4th Grade EGB (9-10)	-	-			7,58	5	36,36	24	56,06	37	40,49	66
7th Grade EGB (12-13)	(4,92)	3			3,45	2	31,03	18	65,52	38	37,42	61
2nd Grade BUP-FP (15-16)	-	-			5,56	2	22,22	8	72,22	26	22,09	36
Total	(1,84)	3			5,63	9	31,25	50	63,13	101	100,00	163

(A) Do not attend such activities.
(B) Do not have a group of friends.

T A B L E 2 2 2

GLOBAL SCALE OF ORAL LINGUISTIC BEHAVIOUR

School Level / Age		Points Grading 0	1 - 2	3 - 5	6 - 10	Total
4th Grade EGB (9-10 yrs)	%	38	33	20	9	100
7th Grade EGB (12-13 yrs)	%	39	29	26	5	100
2nd Grade BUP-FP (15-16 yrs)	%	56	16	11	17	100
T o t a l	%	42,3	28,2	20,2	9,1	100
	N°	69	46	33	15	163

T A B L E 2 2 3

SELF-ASSESSMENT OF UNDERSTANDING OF ORAL CATALAN (1)
AND OF ABILITY TO SPEAK CATALAN (2)
(Questions N° 47 and 45)

School Level / Age		Did not answer 1	Did not answer 2	Yes 1	Yes 2	Fair 1	Fair 2	No 1	No 2	Total
4th Grade EGB (9-10 yrs)	%	-	-	90,91	28,79	9,09	69,70	-	1,52	40,49
	N°	-	-	60	19	6	46	-	1	66
7th Grade EGB (12-13 yrs)	%	(4,92)	(6,56)	86,21	31,58	13,79	63,16	-	5,26	37,42
	N°	3	4	50	18	8	36	-	3	61
2nd Grade BUP-FP (15-16 yrs)	%	-	-	100	13,89	-	75	-	11,11	22,09
	N°	-	-	36	5	-	27	-	4	36
T o t a l	%	(1,84)	(2,45)	91,25	26,42	8.75	68,55	-	5,03	100
	N°	3	4	146	42	14	109	-	8	163

T A B L E 2 2 4

SUBJECTIVE FACILITY IN RECEPTIVE USAGE OF CATALAN
(LANGUAGE PREFERRED FOR LEARNING OF LESSONS) (1)
AND COLLOQUIAL FLUENCY
(LANGUAGE WHICH SUITS THE INDIVIDUAL BEST TO SPEAK) (2)
(Questions N° 44 and 43)

School Level / Age		Did not reply		Catalan		Catalan and Castilian equally		Castilian		Total
		1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	
4th Grade EGB (9-10 yrs)	%	-	(1,52)	10,61	3,08	16,67	6,15	72,73	90,77	40,49
	N°	-	1	7	2	11	4	48	59	66
7th Grade EGB (12-13 yrs)	%	(4,92)	(4,92)	6,90	1,72	22,41	22,41	70,69	75,86	37,42
	N°	3	3	4	1	13	13	41	44	61
2nd Grade BUP-FP (15-16 yrs)	%	-	-	8,33	5,56	52,78	13,89	38,89	80,56	22,09
	N°	-	-	3	2	19	5	14	29	36
T o t a l	%	(1,84)	(2,45)	8,75	3,14	26,88	13,84	64,38	83,02	100
	N°	3	4	14	5	43	22	103	132	163

TABLE 225

OBJECTIVE LINGUISTIC COMPETENCE OF THE CATALAN AND IMMIGRANT GROUPS AND "T" TESTS OF THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THEIR AVERAGES

School Level / Age		C B Coefficient of Bilinguality			D I C T Degree of Interference in Catalan			D I C S Degree of Interference in Castilian		
		Catalan	Immigrant	"T" Test	Catalan	Immigrant	"T" Test	Catalan	Immigrant	"T" Test
6th Grade EGB (9-10 yrs)	$\bar{x}$	.00	-.10	.10*	.05	.17	-.12*	.038	.008	.030*
	S.D.	.06	.07		.03	.10		.045	.014	
7th Grade EGB (12-13 yrs)	$\bar{x}$	.00	-.09	.09*	.05	.14	-.09*	.016	.006	.010*
	S.D.	.06	.06		.03	.08		.015	.006	
2nd Grade BUP-FP (15-16 yrs)	$\bar{x}$	-.01	-.10	.09*	.05	.08	-.03*	.006	.005	N.S.
	S.D.	.03	.06		.02	.05		.009	.006	
Global	$\bar{x}$	-.005	-.096	.091*	.051	.137	-.086*	.020	.007	.013*
	S.D.	.052	.066		.027	.087		.030	.010	

T A B L E 2 2 6

OBJECTIVE LINGUISTIC COMPETENCE OF THE CATALAN AND IMMIGRANT GROUPS, ACCORDING TO SEMANTIC INTEREST-CENTRES, AND "T" TESTS BETWEEN THE AVERAGES OF THE TWO GROUPS OF INDIVIDUALS

Semantic Interest Centres		C B Coefficient of Bilinguality			D I C T Degree of Interference in Catalan			D I C S Degree of Interference in Castilian		
		Catalan	Immigrant	"T" Test	Catalan	Immigrant	"T" Test	Catalan	Immigrant	"T" Test
Nº 1 "Food and drink"	$\bar{x}$	-.01	-.16	.15*	.03	.13	-.10*	.027	.009	.018*
	S.D.	.11	.12		.03	.14		.067	.019	
Nº 2 "The kitchen and dining-room"	$\bar{x}$	-.03	-.17	.14*	.05	.17	-.12*	.024	.008	.016*
	S.D.	.12	.10		.04	.13		.042	.041	
Nº 3 "The street"	$\bar{x}$	-.09	-.11	.02*	.07	.13	-.06*	.013	.004	.009*
	S.D.	.10	.11		.06	.11		.029	.014	
Nº 4 "The school or institute"	$\bar{x}$	-.08	-.13	.05*	.05	.09	-.04*	.030	.014	.016*
	S.D.	.10	.10		.05	.09		.047	.024	
Nº 5 "Games, sports and amusements"	$\bar{x}$	.07	.01	.06*	.06	.14	-.08*	.008	.005	N.S.
	S.D.	.13	.13		.06	.10		.028	.017	
Nº 6 "The human body"	$\bar{x}$	.11	-.01	.12*	.05	.16	-.11*	.020	.002	.018*
	S.D.	.10	.12		.06	.14		.045	.008	
G l o b a l	$\bar{x}$	-.005	-.096	.091*	.051	.137	-.086*	.020	.007	.013*
	S.D.	.052	.066		.027	.087		.030	.010	

TABLE 227

AVERAGE PRODUCTION OF WORDS AND INTERFERENCES PER INTEREST-CENTRE (IMMIGRANT GROUP)

	4th Grade EGB 9-10 yrs		7th Grade EGB 12-13 yrs		2nd Grade BUP-FP 15-16 yrs		GLOBAL	
	$\bar{x}$	S.D.	$\bar{x}$	S.D.	$\bar{x}$	S.D.	$\bar{x}$	S.D.
I-C N° 1 (Food and drink)								
Exercise in Catalan	17,8	4,9	22,6	6,1	27,4	8,3	21,7	7,2
Interferences	2,9	-	2,4	-	2,2	-	2,6	-
Exercise in Castilian	23,2	5,8	32,4	7,1	38,9	7,7	30,1	9,1
Interferences	0,2	-	0,3	-	0,3	-	0,3	-
I-C N° 2 (Kitchen/dining-room)								
Exercise in Catalan	15,3	5,2	22,5	5,7	27,1	7,6	20,6	7,6
Interferences	3,2	-	3,9	-	2,7	-	3,4	-
Exercise in Castilian	22,4	6,0	30,4	6,4	36,7	7,9	28,6	8,6
Interferences	0,2	-	0,1	-	0,3	-	0,2	-
I-C N° 3 (Street)								
Exercise in Catalan	18,4	6,7	25,9	6,2	31,9	6,4	24,2	8,3
Interferences	3,0	-	3,7	-	1,7	-	3,0	-
Exercise in Castilian	23,2	6,4	32,3	6,4	37,6	6,8	29,8	8,7
Interferences	0,1	-	0,1	-	0,0	-	0,1	-
I-C N° 4 (School/Institute)								
Exercise in Catalan	23,1	6,1	27,3	6,7	29,4	5,8	26,1	6,8
Interferences	2,9	-	2,2	-	1,6	-	2,4	-
Exercise in Castilian	27,8	5,9	36,0	6,7	39,4	6,6	33,4	7,9
Interferences	0,4	-	0,5	-	0,3	-	0,4	-
I-C N° 5 (Games, sports, etc.)								
Exercice in Catalan	17,5	6,6	26,0	7,5	29,0	7,1	23,2	8,5
Interferences	3,0	-	3,5	-	2,6	-	3,1	-
Exercise in Castilian	17,7	4,8	23,6	5,8	27,9	5,2	22,1	6,6
Interferences	0,1	-	0,1	-	0,1	-	0,1	-
I-C N° 6 (Human body)								
Exercise in Catalan	19,9	5,7	26,1	5,3	33,0	6,9	25,1	7,7
Interferences	3,7	-	4,8	-	2,9	-	3,8	-
Exercise in Castilian	19,7	4,9	26,5	5,7	35,1	6,4	25,7	8,1
Interferences	0,0	-	0,0	-	0,0	-	0,0	-

TABLE 301

PEARSON r CORRELATIONS BETWEEN ABILITY TO SPEAK CATALAN (ASCT) AND THE SOCIAL LINGUISTIC CONTEXT

School Level / Age	Global		Neighbourhood			Pupils			Recreations		Friends		Teacher
	S	I	D	S	I	D	S	I	S	I	S	I	
th Grade EGB (9-10 yrs)	.20*	.31**	.36*	.01	.14	.15	.18	.36**	.02	.16	.20	.24*	.24*
th Grade EGB (12-13 yrs)	.34**	.28*	.20	.34**	.20	.27*	.13	.25*	.29*	.33*	.32**	.15	.05
nd Grade BUP-FP (15-16 yrs)	.40**	.52***	.13	.33*	.45**	.30*	.26	.42**	.07	.43*	.47**	.52***	.38*
l o b a l	.19**	.33***	.19**	.18*	.23**	.08	.06	.31***	.07	.32***	.23**	.26***	.12

= Spectator linguistic exposure

= Interlocutory linguistic exposure

= Demographic composition according to origin

TABLE 302

PEARSON r CORRELATIONS BETWEEN COLLOQUIAL FLUENCY OF CATALAN (COL) AND THE SOCIAL LINGUISTIC CONTEXT

	Global		Neighbourhood			Pupils			Recreations		Friends		Teacher
School Level / Age	S	I	D	S	I	D	S	I	S	I	S	I	
4th Grade EGB (9-10 yrs)	.54***	.56***	.18	.23*	.28*	.53***	.50***	.52***	.30*	.40**	.51***	.54***	.44***
7th Grade EGB (12-13 yrs)	.43***	.48***	.15	.04	.09	.38***	.34**	.42***	.32*	.50***	.57***	.56***	.10
2nd Grade BUP-FP (15-16 yrs)	.58***	.84***	.05	.35*	.74***	.26	.37*	.70***	.24	.72***	.61***	.81***	.44**
G l o b a l	.46***	.60***	.10	.20**	.35***	.34***	.35***	.54***	.23**	.46***	.61***	.61***	.29***

S = Spectator linguistic exposure

I = Interlocutory linguistic exposure

D = Demographic composition according to origin

T A B L E 3 0 3

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN THE COEFFICIENT OF BILINGUALITY (CB) AND THE SOCIAL LINGUISTIC CONTEXT

	Global		Neighbourhood			Pupils			Recreations		Friends		Teacher
chool Level / Age	S	I	D	S	I	D	S	I	S	I	S	I	
th Grade EGB (9-10 yrs)	.27*	.35**	.06	.08	.24*	.25*	.21*	.30**	.32*	.37**	.07	.13	.33**
th Grade EGB (12-13 yrs)	.07	.06	.20	.11	.05	.09	.05	.00	.05	.00	.15	.03	.08
nd Grade BUP-FP (15-16 yrs)	.40**	.51***	.30*	.39**	.12	.11	.12	.42**	.25	.43**	.47**	.50**	.29*
l o b a l	.16*	.25***	.02	.08	.17*	.04	.09	.23**	.12	.23**	.20**	.18*	.15*

= Spectator linguistic exposure

= Interlocutory linguistic exposure

= Demographic composition according to origin

TABLE 304

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN DEGREE OF INTERFERENCE IN CATALAN (DICT) AND THE SOCIAL LINGUISTIC CONTEXT

School Level / Age	Global		Neighbourhood			Pupils			Recreations		Friends		Teacher
	S	I	D	S	I	D	S	I	S	I	S	I	
4th Grade EGB (9-10 yrs)	.04	.14	.09	.09	.06	.03	.03	.18	.02	.28*	.09	.05	.21*
7th Grade EGB (12-13 yrs)	.60***	.47***	.33**	.39**	.26**	.49***	.36***	.28*	.42**	.31*	.28*	.21	.46***
2nd Grade BUP-FP (15-16 yrs)	.41**	.43**	.15	.45**	.40**	.32*	.34*	.30*	.14	.21	.15	.34*	.43***
Global	.36***	.27***	.12	.28***	.13*	.33***	.24**	.23***	.19*	.14	.20**	.12	.33***

S = Spectator linguistic exposure

I = Interlocutory linguistic exposure

D = Demographic composition according to origin

TABLE 305

PEARSON r CORRELATIONS BETWEEN LINGUISTIC COMPETENCE AND BEHAVIOUR

Indicators of Competence and School Level / Age	Domains: Global	Neighbourhood	Pupils	Recreations	Friends	Teacher
- Ability to speak Catalan (ASCT)						
4th Grade EGB (9-10)	.35***	.21*	.37***	.22	.24*	.36**
7th Grade EGB (12-13)	.33**	.21	.32**	.28	.15	.10
2nd Grade BUP-FP (15-16)	.62***	.54***	.71***	.43**	.52***	.54***
Global	.40***	.28***	.42***	.31***	.26***	.30***
- Colloquial fluency of Catalan						
4th Grade EGB (9-10)	.57***	.27**	.58***	.52***	.53***	.47***
7th Grade EGB (12-13)	.57***	.18	.56***	.38***	.53***	.32**
2nd Grade BUP-FP (15-16)	.88***	.76***	.86***	.74***	.91***	.68***
Global	.66***	.39***	.64***	.48***	.66***	.47***
- Coefficient of Bilinguality (CB)						
4th Grade EGB (9-10)	.20*	.05	.21*	.34*	.05	.17
7th Grade EGB (12-13)	.08	.03	.02	.03	.08	.18
2th Grade BUP-FP (15-16)	.52***	.46**	.50**	.42**	.55***	.40*
Global	.24***	.14*	.21**	.21*	.18*	.22**
- Degree of interference in Catalan (DICT)						
4th Grade EGB (9-10)	.12	.07	.09	.20	.01	.16
7th Grade EGB (12-13)	.34**	.25*	.19	.27*	.14	.37***
2nd Grade BUP-FP (15-16)	.38*	.39**	.38*	.19	.28	.43**
Global	.21**	.18**	.15*	.13	.14*	.24***

TABLE 306

COEFFICIENTS OF MULTIPLE REGRESSION BETWEEN "SPECTATOR EXPOSURE", "INTERLOCUTORY EXPOSURE" AND "LINGUISTIC BEHAVIOUR" DIMENSIONS AND OVERALL LINGUISTIC COMPETENCE

	C B	D I C T	A S C T	C O L
Sociolinguistic dimensions	Coefficient of Bilinguality	Degree of Interference in Catalan	Ability to speak Catalan (Self-assessment)	Subjective Colloquial Fluency
Spectator exposure	.24	.45***	.27	.36*
Interlocutory exposure	.26	.37**	.29	.50***
Behaviour	.28	.28	.32	.53***
Spectator exposure Interlocutor exposure Behaviour	.33	.53**	.47*	.56***

TABLE 3.7

PEARSON r CORRELATIONS BETWEEN FREQUENCY OF EXPOSURE TO COMMUNICATION MEDIA AND OVERALL LINGUISTIC COMPETENCE

Communication media		C B Coefficient of Bilinguality	D I C T Degree of Interference in Catalan	A S C T Ability to speak Catalan (Self-assessment)	C O L Subjective Colloquial Fluency
Television in Castilian	r	-.15*	.08	-.14*	-.05
	n	(161)	(161)	(159)	(159)
Television in Catalan	r	.01	-.07	.14*	.20**
	n	(160)	(160)	(158)	(158)
Radio in Castilian	r	.04	.05	-.12	-.03
	n	(160)	(160)	(158)	(158)
Radio in Catalan	r	.02	-.14*	-.11	-.17*
	n	(159)	(159)	(157)	(157)
Films in Castilian	r	.04	.08	.02	-.11
	n	(161)	(161)	(159)	(159)
Films in Catalan	r	.05	.00	-.05	-.02
	n	(161)	(161)	(159)	(159)
Written media (Reading matter)	r	.02	-.20**	.24***	.27***
	n	(159)	(159)	(158)	(158)

TABLE 401

CORRELATIONS OF LINGUISTIC BEHAVIOUR WITH DEMOGRAPHIC COMPOSITION ACCORDING TO ORIGIN (O), AND SPECTATOR (S) AND INTERLOCUTORY (I) LINGUISTIC EXPOSURE

School Level / Age		Global Scale	Neighbourhood	Pupils	Recreational Activities	Friends	Teacher
4th Grade EGB	O	-	$.28^{**}$	$.58^{***}$	-	-	-
	S	$.80^{***}$	$.36^{**}$	$.61^{***}$	$.53^{***}$	$.89^{***}$	-
(9-10 yrs)	I	$.88^{***}$	$.48^{***}$	$.79^{***}$	$.78^{***}$	$.77^{***}$	$.77^{***}$
7th Grade EGB	O	-	$.46^{***}$	$.51^{***}$	-	-	-
	S	$.73^{***}$	$.46^{***}$	$.59^{***}$	$.75^{***}$	$.64^{***}$	-
(12-13 yrs)	I	$.86^{***}$	$.75^{***}$	$.79^{***}$	$.93^{***}$	$.70^{***}$	$.69^{***}$
2nd Grade BUP-FP	O	-	.11	$.28^{*}$	-	-	-
	S	$.56^{***}$	$.43^{**}$	$.43^{**}$	.30	$.63^{***}$	-
(15-16 yrs)	I	$.83^{***}$	$.91^{***}$	$.69^{***}$	$.97^{***}$	$.83^{***}$	$.34^{*}$
	O	-	$.29^{***}$	$.42^{***}$	-	-	-
Global	S	$.65^{***}$	$.42^{***}$	$.51^{***}$	$.55^{***}$	$.68^{***}$	-
	I	$.86^{***}$	$.70^{***}$	$.76^{***}$	$.88^{***}$	$.77^{***}$	$.64^{***}$

TABLE 402

DISTRIBUTION OF SPECTATOR EXPOSURE ACCORDING TO LINGUISTIC BEHAVIOUR

Behaviour		Spectator Exposure: Neighbourhood			School (pupils)			Recreational Activities			Group of Friends			School (Teacher)		
		Cat.	C/C	Cast	Cat	C/C	Cast	Cat	C/C	Cast	Cat	C/C	Cast	Cat	C/C	Cast
Catalan	%	38	2	2	39	2	-	44	3	-	56	-	1	53	2	1
	N°	6	2	1	13	1	-	21	1	-	9	-	1	21	1	1
Catalan/Castilian	%	31	34	10	18	35	7	19	44	-	13	50	2	30	45	13
	N°	5	29	6	6	22	5	9	15	-	2	12	2	12	23	9
Castilian	%	31	64	88	42	63	93	37	53	100	31	50	96	17	53	86
	N°	5	54	53	14	39	63	18	18	31	5	12	107	7	27	62

Cat = Catalan

C/C = Catalan/Castilian

Cast = Castilian

TABLE 403

DISTRIBUTION OF LINGUISTIC BEHAVIOUR ACCORDING TO EXPOSURE

Behaviour		Linguistic Behaviour															
		Neighbourhood			School (pupils)			Recreational Activities			Group of Friends			School (Teacher)			
		Cat.	C/C	Cast	Cat	C/C	Cast	Cat	C/C	Cast	Cat	C/C	Cast	Cat	C/C	Cast	
Catalan	%	100	-	1	52	2	1	93	-	1	81	4	-	89	-	2	
	N°	8	-	1	21	1	1	13	-	1	21	1	-	8	-	2	
Catalan/Castilian	%	-	62	10	30	45	13	-	59	6	11	77	3	-	70	3	
	N°	-	29	11	12	23	9	-	27	6	3	17	2	-	12	4	
Castilian	%	-	38	89	17	53	86	7	41	93	8	18	97	11	30	95	
	N°	-	18	95	7	27	62	1	19	96	2	4	60	1	5	118	

Cat = Catalan

C/C = Catalan/Castilian

Cast = Castilian

TABLE 4.4

PEARSON r CORRELATION BETWEEN FREQUENCY OF EXPOSURE TO COMMUNICATION MEDIA AND LINGUISTIC BEHAVIOUR

Communication media		Neighbourhood	Teacher	Pupils	Recreational Activities	Friends	Global
Television in Castilian	r	.09	-.22**	-.18**	-.04	.03	.12
	n	(160)	(161)	(161)	(115)	(149)	(161)
Television in Catalan	r	.28***	.15*	.18*	.15	.23**	.25***
	n	(159)	(160)	(160)	(114)	(148)	(160)
Radio in Castilian	r	.06	.00	.03	.05	.06	.06
	n	(159)	(160)	(160)	(114)	(148)	(160)
Radio in Catalan	r	.10	.12	.17*	.08	.24**	.20**
	n	(158)	(159)	(159)	(114)	(148)	(159)
Films in Castilian	r	-.03	.10	.01	.04	.04	.04
	n	(160)	(161)	(161)	(115)	(149)	(161)
Films in Catalan	r	-.03	.07	.07	.06	.07	.07
	n	(160)	(161)	(161)	(115)	(149)	(161)
Writting media (Reading matter)	r	.29***	.31***	.41***	.26**	.34***	.40***
	n	(158)	(159)	(159)	(113)	(147)	(159)

TABLE B - 1

AVERAGE NUMBER OF WORDS PRODUCED IN THREE MINUTES, ACCORDING TO ORIGIN OF INDIVIDUALS AND THE FORM OF EXPRESSION USED IN THE EXERCISE

Interest-centre	CATALANS (n = 15)				IMMIGRANTS (n = 24)				GLOBAL (n = 39)			
	CATALAN		CASTILIAN		CATALAN		CASTILIAN		CATALAN		CASTILIAN	
	Oral	Written	Oral	Written	Oral	Written	Oral	Written	Oral	Written	Oral	Written
"The human body"	24	27	19	19	23,5	20	23,5	22	24	20	23	21
"The kitchen and the dining-room"	27	18	19	22	18,5	17,5	20,5	22,5	23	18	20	22
"The street"	24	18	20	21	25,5	18	25,5	22,5	25	18	25	22
$\bar{x}$ Global	25	21	19,3	20,6	22,5	18,5	23,1	22,3	24	18,6	22,6	21,6

TABLE B - 2

AVERAGING AND CORRELATION OF COEFFICIENTS OF BILINGUALITY ACCORDING TO ORIGIN OF INDIVIDUALS AND FORM OF EXPRESSION USED IN THE EXERCISE

Interest-centre	CATALANS (n = 15)			IMMIGRANTS (n = 24)			GLOBAL (n = 39)		
	Oral	Written	$\bar{r}$ Correlation	Oral	Written	$\bar{r}$ Correlation	Oral	Written	$\bar{r}$ Correlation
"The human body"	.077	.107	.43	-.022	.001	.38*	.023	.040	.46**
"The kitchen and the dining-room"	.170	-.034	.21	-.052	-.188	.39*	.031	-.175	.50***
"The street"	.080	-.034	.77***	-.031	-.127	.77***	.045	-.111	.78***
$\bar{x}$ Global	.109	.013		-.035	-.104		.033	-.082	